FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-057
Friday
23 March 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-057 CONTENTS *23 March 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

U.S. Ambassador's Remarks on Kosovo Noted *[ATA]* 1
Alia Cables Nujoma on Namibian Independence *[ATA]* 1
Paper Cites Benefits of Open Party Meetings *[ZERI I POPULLIT 15 Mar]* 1
Increased Money Supply Brings Inflation Risk *[BASHKIMI 17 Mar]* 2

BULGARIA

Gorbachev Election Viewed As 'Only Solution' *[Undzhiev in NARODNA ARMIYA 16 Mar]* 3
North Atlantic Assembly News Conference *[BTA]* 3
Albanian Foreign Minister on Macedonian Issue *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 17 Mar]* 3
Public Institutions on Macedonian Question *[BTA]* 4
North Koreans in Nation Appeal for Help *[Seoul YONHAP]* 4
Mladenov Orders Investigation of Labor Camp *[Sofia Radio]* 4
    Further on Camp 'Outrages' *[BTA]* 4
Human Rights Meeting Called for 26, 27 Mar *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Lilov, Lukanov Address BCP Rallies *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Judges Union Calls for Independent Legal System *[BTA]* 6
Government Encourages Private Economic Initiative *[BTA]* 6
Internal Affairs Official on Militia Renewal *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Mar]* 6
Opposition Leader Discusses New Paper *[TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Mar]* 7
Boyko Dimitrov on Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Mar]* 8
Democratic Party Slogans at Rally Noted *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Mar]* 8
Women's Democratic Union Takes Step for Ecology *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Lukanov Outlines State of Economy *[BTA]* 9
Mladenov Meets Patriotic Movement Members *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Progressive People's Party Formed in Sofia *[BTA]* 10
Mladenov Discusses Elections, Zhivkov, Reform *[Hamburg DIE WELT 2 Mar]* 10
Leader on New Patriotic Alliance 'Defense' *[VECHERNI NOVINI 1 Mar]* 13
'Club of Radical Delegates' Discusses Goals *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Mar]* 14
Daily Greets Podkrepa Newspaper on Publication *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 17 Mar]* 15
Trade Workers Union Issues Declaration *[TRUD 28 Feb]* 15

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Continues Diplomatic Effort in UK 16
    Leaders Toast Bilateral Relationship *[Prague Radio]* 16
    More on Havel-Thatcher Talks *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
    BBC Interviews Havel *[London TV]* 16
    Havel Meets With Thatcher, Journalists *[Prague Radio]* 17
Havel Calls for Dissolution of Military Pacts *[CTK]* 17
General Feels Soviet Troops Eager To Leave *[CTK]* 18
Local Official Comments on Soviet Withdrawal *[RUDE PRAVO 17 Mar]* 18
Sacher Holds Talks With U.S. Officials *[Bratislava Radio]* 19
Commentary Analyzes GDR Election Results *[Vesely in MLADA FRONTA 20 Mar]* 19
ROK Minister Stresses Bilateral 'Interest' 20
    Meets With Dienstbier *[CTK]* 20
    Received by Foreign Trade Minister Barcak *[CTK]* 20
    Diplomatic Relations Established *[Prague Radio]* 20
    Press Briefing With Dienstbier *[CTK]* 20

Palestinian Envoy Objects to UN Vote *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Mar]* ... 21
Calfa Views Trends in Foreign Relations *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 10 Mar]* ... 21
Calfa Reviews, Assesses First '100 Days' *[Prague TV]* ... 22
Vacek Guarantees Army Will Not Be Misused *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Mar]* ... 25
Commentaries Warn Against 'Kosovo' in Slovakia *[VEREJNOST 9 Mar]* ... 25
Public Opinion on Czech-Slovak Relations Surveyed *[PRACE 16 Mar]* ... 26
Federal Government Abolishes Death Penalty *[Prague TV]* ... 26
Brno Civic Forum Splits; Cibulka Heads Movement *[Prague Radio]* ... 27
CPCZ's Mohorita Holds Talks in Poland *[PAP]* ... 27
Provision Allowing Misuse of Psychiatry Abolished *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 17 Mar]* ... 27
Socialist Party Preparing for Elections *[CTK]* ... 27
New Measures Affecting Foreigners' Purchases *[PRACE 16 Mar]* ... 28
Trade Details Dispute Castro 'Trash' Claim *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Mar]* ... 28

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Election Commission's Final Election Results *[ADN]* ... 29
Newspaper Commentaries View Election Results ... 29
    DER MORGEN Commentary *[Brendel, 20 Mar]* ... 29
    NEUE ZEIT Editorial *[Gessler, 20 Mar]* ... 30
    BERLINER ALLGEMEINE Commentary *[Baschleben, 20 Mar]* ... 31
'Alliance' Gives Post-Election News Conference *[NEUE ZEIT 20 Mar]* ... 31
SPD Offers Informative Coalition Talks to CDU *[ADN]* ... 32
    CDU Praises Willingness *[ADN]* ... 32
Alliance for Germany Chiefs Brief Press on Talks *[Cologne Radio]* ... 32
CDU Alliance, Liberals Open Coalition Talks *[ADN]* ... 33
    Participants Agree on Coalition *[ADN]* ... 34
FRG Official on Politicians' Stasi Involvement *[ADN]* ... 34
'Serious Evidence' Against De Maiziere *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 34
    Official Cites 'Indications' *[Mainz TV]* ... 34
Deputies To Be Checked for Stasi Involvement *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Mar]* ... 35
Inquiries Into Stasi Past After Chamber Session *[East Berlin Radio]* ... 35
SPD Calls for Statement on Polish Border *[ADN]* ... 36
    SPD 'Text' of Proposed Statement *[ADN]* ... 36
Alliance 90, Green-Purple Alliance Form Group *[ADN]* ... 36
Modrow Cabinet Meets on Situation, Elections *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 36
Appeal for Referendum on Unification Issued *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17-18 Mar]* ... 36
Financial Autonomy for Towns, Villages Introduced *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17-18]* ... 37
Spokesman Confirms Recent Dismissal of Judges *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 37
Council Establishes Office for Disarmament *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 17-18 Mar]* ... 37
Daily Views Prague Foreign Ministers' Meeting *[Reinert in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Mar]* ... 37
Trotskyist Party Presents Election Broadcast *[East Berlin TV]* ... 38
New Left-Wing Periodical CONSTRUCTIV *[ADN]* ... 38
Commentary Views Fall of Chairman Schnur *[Eggert in BERLINER ZEITUNG 16 Mar]* ... 38
Joint Ventures Concluded at Leipzig Fair *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 15 Mar]* ... 39
Finance Ministry on Purchase of Buildings, Land *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 17-18 Mar]* ... 39

HUNGARY

Government 'Statement' on Romanian Events *[MTI]* ... 40
Government Communique on Romania Events *[Budapest Radio]* ... 40
Latest Romania Situation Termed 'Disquieting' *[Budapest Radio]* ... 41
Horn Sends Letter to Romanian Foreign Minister *[MTI]* ... 41
Horn, Karpati on Romania, Foreign Reaction *[MTI]* ... 41
Statement Demands 'Civilized Order' in Romania *[MTI]* ... 42
Transylvania Seen as Possible Karabakh *[Vajda in NEPSZABADSAG 21 Mar]* ... 42
'Text' of Parties' Joint Appeal to Romania *[MTI]* ... 43
Magyars Denounce Romanian Government Statement *[Budapest Radio]* ... 44
Number of Romanian Refugees in Country Updated *[MAGYAR NEMZET 21 Mar]* ... 44
Joint Romanian Forum Condemns Tirgu Mures Acts *[MTI]* ... 44
Romanian TV Accused of 'Blatant Lie' on Beatings *[Budapest TV]* ... 45

News Coverage of Transylvania Criticized *[Budapest Radio]* 45
Romania Situation Said Similar to Timisoara *[Budapest Radio]* 46
Young Democrats See Civil War Danger in Romania *[Budapest Radio]* 46
Volan Bus Service to Transylvania Halted *[Budapest Radio]* 46
Romanian Ambassador Interviewed on Tirgu Mures *[MTI]* 46
Nemeth Receives Soviet Deputy Prime Minister *[MTI]* 46
Hungary Begins Trade Talks With USSR 47
    'Cautious Hopes' for Agreement *[MTI]* 47
    Progress Noted *[MTI]* 47
    Protocol Finalized *[MTI]* 47
Diplomatic Relations Established With Namibia *[Budapest Radio]* 48
Karpati on Military Service Cut, Romania *[MTI]* 48
Terrorist Threat Directed at Malev Airline 48
    Charter Flights Suspended *[MTI]* 48
    Aeroflot Cooperation Requested *[Budapest Radio]* 48
    Israel Requests Explanation *[Budapest Radio]* 49
Gal on Efforts Against Balkan Drug Trafficking *[NEPSZABADSAG 19 Mar]* 49
Finance Minister Bekesi Discusses Future Plans *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 19 Mar]* 50
Construction Minister Derzsi on Future Plans *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 15 Mar]* 50
Pozsgay, Nyers on Upcoming Election Chances *[Budapest Radio]* 51
Nemeth Interviewed on Elections, Policies *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 17-19 Mar]* 51
Alliance of Free Democrats Outlines Program *[MTI]* 52
* Parties on Election Prospects, First 100 Days *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 11 Mar]* 53
* Problems With Nominating Process Detailed 57
    * Guidance for Nominations *[NEPSZABADSAG 26 Jan]* 57
    * Rules for Blank Slips *[NEPSZABADSAG 27 Jan]* 57
    * Complaint Resolution *[NEPSZABADSAG 1 Feb]* 58
    * Flaws in Nominating Process *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Feb]* 59
* Recognition, Popularity of Leading Politicians *[MAGYAR NEMZET 3 Mar]* 59

POLAND

Roundup of Mazowiecki's Talks With Bush *[PAP]* 62
Mazowiecki Receives U.S. Assurance of Support *[PAP]* 62
Mazowiecki, Bush Hold 'General Review' *[PAP]* 64
    Mazowiecki White House Dinner Toast *[PAP]* 64
Sejm Adopts Resolution on Lithuania *[PAP]* 65
Fighting Solidarity Demonstrates in Szczecin *[Szczecin Radio]* 65
Demonstrations Held in Warsaw, Major Cities *[Warsaw Radio]* 65
Warsaw Demonstrators Support Lithuanian Moves *[PAP]* 65
Skubiszewski Addresses WEU Parliament *[PAP]* 65
Sejm Adopts Law on Self-Government Employees *[PAP]* 66
Sejm Hears Draft Resolution on Katyn Crime *[PAP]* 66
    Passes Resolution *[PAP]* 66
    Weekly Names 'Connected' Soviets *[PAP]* 67
    Soviets Reportedly Admit Responsibility *[Warsaw Radio]* 67
'Another NKVD Crime' Uncovered *[PAP]* 67
POLITYKA Explains 'Workers' Slogan Deletion *[Bijak in POLITYKA 3 Feb]* 68
1st Issue of New Weekly Appears *[Warsaw TV]* 69
Arms Trade Demonopolization 'Within a Month' *[Warsaw Radio]* 69
Official Interviewed on Government Spending *[ZYCIA WARSZAWY 17-18 Mar]* 69

ROMANIA

Bucharest Rejects Hungary's Call To Restore Order *[AFP]* 71
Romanian-Hungarian Ethnic Commission Meets *[Bucharest Radio]* 71
Agreement Reached With Hungarian Minority *[Budapest Radio]* 71
Voican Addresses Tirgu Mures Demonstrators *[Bucharest Radio]* 71
'Reconciliation' Possible with Hungarian Minority *[Budapest Radio]* 72
Government Commission Meets With T. Mures Council *[Bucharest Radio]* 72
Peaceful 21 Mar Bucharest Demonstration Reported *[ROMPRES]* 73

Anti-Magyar Demonstrations in Bucharest 22 Mar [*Budapest Radio*] 73
Tirgu Mures Reportedly 'Normal' 23 Mar [*Bucharest Radio*] 73
Tirgu Mures, Bucharest Reported Calm 23 Mar [*Budapest Radio*] 73
Miercurea Ciuc TU Calls General Strike 23 Mar [*Bucharest Radio*] 74
Situation Calm; Strikes in Harghita County [*ROMPRES*] 74
General Strike Ends in Covasna County [*ROMPRES*] 74
ADEVARUL on Transylvania Situation 22 Mar [*ROMPRES*] 74
Tirgu Mures Youth Groups Issue Proclamation [*ROMPRES*] 75
T. Mures Pharmacy Denies Serving Only Hungarians [*MTI*] 75
Daily Warns Against Ethnic Extremism [*ROMPRES*] 76
Writer Denounces Hungarian 'Chauvinist Minority' [*ROMPRES*] 76
PNUC Issues Decree on 20 May Election Date [*ROMPRES*] 76
21 Mar PNUC Session Reviews T. Mures Events [*ROMPRES*] 76
PNUC Plenary Session Postponed [*AFP*] 77
Romanians, Hungarians Should 'Build Up Confidence' [*ROMPRES*] 77
Liberal Party, Hungarian Union on Unrest [*Bucharest Radio*] 78
Tokes To Appeal for Hungarian Minority in U.S. [*Budapest Radio*] 78
Daily Protests School Separation Claims [*ROMPRES*] 78
Causes of Romanian Events Analyzed [*Budapest Radio*] 79
Statistical Data on Population by Nationality [*ROMPRES*] 79
Turkish-Muslim Union Pledges Loyalty to Country [*ROMPRES*] 80
Hard Currency Norms for Private Enterprises [*ROMPRES*] 80
Daily Warns of Inflation's Destabilizing Effect [*ROMPRES*] 80
'Nefarious' 1989 Demographic Statistics Issued [*ROMPRES*] 81

YUGOSLAVIA

1,000 Students Poisoned by 'Nerve Gas' [*Zagreb Radio*] 82
    Kosovo Movement Protests [*TANJUG*] 82
    Victims' Deaths Unlikely [*TANJUG*] 82
    Schoolchildren Sent Home [*TANJUG*] 83
    Poison Gas Rumor Causes Unrest [*Belgrade Radio*] 83
    Rioting in Podujevo [*TANJUG*] 83
    Media Reactions to Poisoning [*Pristina Radio*] 83
    Kosovo 'Extremely Tense' [*Belgrade Radio*] 84
    Situation 'Becoming Complicated' [*TANJUG*] 85
Pristina TV Condemns 'Neo-Chetnik Ideology' [*RILINDJA 17 Mar*] 85
Kosovo Intellectuals Appeal for 'Patience' [*RILINDJA 16 Mar*] 85
Democratic Alliance Premises Ordered To Close [*RILINDJA 15 Mar*] 86
Kertes Promises Immigrants To 'Be Expelled' [*BORBA 12 Mar*] 86
Kosovo Committee Claims 36 Dead in Unrest [*BORBA 14 Mar*] 87
Montenegrin Presidency's Mandate Extended [*TANJUG*] 88
Darmanovic Leaves Montenegro LC CC [*TANJUG*] 88
Montenegrin Assembly Assesses Directives [*TANJUG*] 88
Croatian Assembly on 'Safeguarding' Democracy [*TANJUG*] 89
Croat League of Women Founded in Zagreb [*TANJUG*] 89
Cicak Expelled From Croat Peasant Party [*TANJUG*] 89
Zagreb, Ljubljana TV Programs on Elections [*BORBA 5 Mar*] 89
People's Meeting in Petrova Gora Noted [*TANJUG*] 90
Slovene Poll on Party Popularity [*DELO 17 Mar*] 91
Hafner on New Communist Party in Slovenia [*BORBA 5 Mar*] 93
Federal Government Freezes Slovenia's Accounts [*BORBA 13 Mar*] 93
2 Parties Unite in Serbian Renewal Movement [*POLITIKA 15 Mar*] 93
TANJUG Reacts to Serbian Charges 94
Serbian National Renewal Chief Denies Ban [*TANJUG*] 94
Suvar Says Economic Reforms Will Take Time [*TANJUG*] 94
Valjevo Communists See No Reason for Tito School [*Belgrade Radio*] 95
LCY CC Presidium Considers Congress Proposals [*TANJUG*] 95
Basic Organizations Dissolved in Hercegovina [*Belgrade Radio*] 95
Presidency: Slovene Law Violates Constitution [*TANJUG*] 96
Alternative Groups on Party Pluralism Laws [*TANJUG*] 96

Socialist Alliance May Play 'Major Role' *[TANJUG]* ... 96
Raskovic on 'Democratic Federalism,' Equality *[BORBA 10-11 Mar]* ... 97
Vojvodina Assembly Votes for New Constitution *[TANJUG]* ... 97
National Defense Secretariat Names Spokesman *[TANJUG]* ... 98
Dissident Djilas Comments on Developments *[CTK]* ... 98
Belgrade SAWP President Resigns *[TANJUG]* ... 98
Independent Democratic Party Explains Program *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 98
'Independent Students Alliance' Founded *[TANJUG]* ... 99
Social Reform Party To Protest Border Law *[TANJUG]* ... 99
Number of Applicants to Military Schools Grows *[NARODNA ARMIJA 8 Mar]* ... 99
POLITIKA To Launch English Edition *[TANJUG]* ... 99
Democratic Party Publishes New Newspaper *[TANJUG]* ... 100
Novi Sad University Paper Renews Publication *[TANJUG]* ... 100
First Independent Paper Published in SFRY *[TANJUG]* ... 100
Paper Counters Army Statement on Officer's Death *[DELO 3 Mar]* ... 100
Rally Deplores 'Awakened Specters of the Past' *[TANJUG]* ... 101
Democratic Party on Parties Bill, Kosovo *[TANJUG]* ... 101
Radical Association Presents Program *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 101
Drnovsek Visits Namibia for Independence Day *[TANJUG]* ... 102
    Delegation Leaves for Namibia *[TANJUG]* ... 102
    Stopover in Sudan, Kenya *[TANJUG]* ... 102
    Loncar, Shevardnadze Meet *[TANJUG]* ... 102
    Namibia Leader Thanks Drnovsek *[TANJUG]* ... 103
    Meets With De Klerk *[TANJUG]* ... 103
    Diplomatic Relations Opened *[TANJUG]* ... 103
    Meeting Held With Baker *[TANJUG]* ... 103
Slovenian Hungarians Protest Romanian Oppression *[MTI]* ... 104

U.S. Ambassador's Remarks on Kosovo Noted

AU2303125890 Tirana ATA in English 0932 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 23 (ATA)—The U.S. ambassador in Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmerman, reiterated on March 21 The United States' worry over the situation created in Kosovo. Speaking at a Yugoslav-U.S. meeting in Belgrade on the relations between the two countries, the agency TANJUG reports, he stated that the situation in Kosovo is a factor which complicates the U.S.-Yugoslav relations. He spoke in favor of a serious political dialogue between the authorities and the Albanian population of the province.

Zimmerman said further on that no one should think that the U.S. position on the Kosovo problem is a result of the activity of the Albanians in the United States or of the lack of efficiency of the Yugoslav foreign policy. The Americans, he said, find it difficult to realize that the Albanians are "terrorists," when knowing that in the manifestations conducted within a year 49 Albanians were killed while no one from the Serbian and Montenegrin population was killed.

Alia Cables Nujoma on Namibian Independence

AU2203134490 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana March 22 (ATA)—The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greetings to the president of the Republic of Namibia Sam Nujoma:

On occasion of the proclamation of the Republic of Namibia, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and in my own name, I have the special pleasure to send you, and through you to the friendly freedom-loving people of Namibia, the cordial greetings and the best wishes.

The proclamation of the Republic of Namibia is the most marked event in the history of the Namibian people. It abolished the colonial oppression crowning with success their many years-long efforts and struggle for national freedom and independence. The Albanian people, who have always supported the just struggle of the Namibian people, wish them successes in their efforts to abolish the consequences of colonialism and in the development and prosperity of the homeland.

On this occasion I make known that the PSR of Albania acknowledges the Republic of Namibia as an independent and sovereign state and wishes that the friendly relations between our two countries be devloped nonstop.

Accept my best wishes for your appointment to the post of the president of the Republic of Namibia, as well as for the succcessful carrying out of this high duty.

Paper Cites Benefits of Open Party Meetings

AU2103153390 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Mar 90 p 2

[Lenka Cuko article: "Open Meetings—A Reflection of the Democratization of the Party's Life"]

[Excerpts] The ninth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenum decided that as a rule, the meetings of the basic organizations should be open, giving to every nonparty member of the collective the opportunity to attend if they so wish. This is a concrete reflection of the democratization of the life of basic party organizations and the deepening of the line of the masses, as well as a logical consequence of the further qualitative development of life in our country and of the higher educational and cultural level of the working masses, of their emancipation; it is a reflection of the close links between the party and the masses. [passage omitted]

Open meetings have been held before, of course, although not so frequently. The opinion of the masses has always been sought. The party organizations have been accountable to the masses. However, the decisions of the ninth plenum have raised this experience to a higher level, giving it a new concept and new forms of implementation. This strengthens the party and its leadership role. It raises the level of its work in conformity with the current demands and conditions, as well as with future ones; it strengthens the links between the party, the workers class, and the masses. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, the meetings are playing their role better as a school, not only for the communists, but also for the working masses. [passage omitted]

The open meetings of the basic organizations are not an end in itself, but must serve to better resolve the problems of production and life. The participation of nonparty people in the meetings of basic organizations is not done in order to boast about attendance numbers, but that they may take an active part by expressing their opinions, that they may initiate revolutionary actions, as well as to raise the commitment of party members and nonparty people in fulfilling and over fulfilling the tasks; otherwise, the entire matter would remain a formality. This decision helps to combat formalism and bureaucratic attitudes in the work of the party and of all state and economic organs. As such, it requires a profound understanding by the communists and by the nonparty masses. [passage omitted]

Not only has the level of the activity of the masses been further raised, the communists themselves are debating increasingly more among themselves and with nonparty people in order to remain in a vanguard position at all times and in every field of life. Communists have now an even greater sense of responsibility before the masses, but the support of the masses, too, is being secured to a greater extent in the fulfillment of tasks, which, in the final analysis, is the central problem of the entire process of the revolutionization of every aspect of the party's and of the country's life. [passage omitted]

The holding of open meetings increases the workload of the basic organizations and of every communist, requiring a higher quality of preparation and the avoidance of all manifestations of diktat, bureaucracy, and formalism. [passage omitted]

The open meetings will also raise the civic courage of our people, because everyone is given the opportunity to speak before others, and manifestations of cronyism and opportunism observed in party organizations will be better eliminated. [passage omitted]

Increased Money Supply Brings Inflation Risk

AU2103132390 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Mar 90 p 2

[Mitro Cela article: "Immunity to Inflation!"]

[Text] Here and there among the economic enterprises of Elbasan, specialists broach the following question:

"Is there inflation in Elbasan District?"

This question is generally greeted as if a bomb had been dropped. The first specialist replies naively: "Under socialism, in which the development of everything is planned, there is no room for inflation."

A second specialist replies with the slogan: " Our people's state is strong, so I cannot understand why this question has been asked."

A third specialist answers more realistically: "There is no immunity to inflation. If economic laws are violated in practice, when the balance between the targets of the plan is upset, and when administrative orders take the place of economic logic, then room is left for inflation."

Now let us decide ourselves. Last year, Elbasan District exceeded its production targets in many crops. Financially, this meant that cooperativists received more money for their work. Working people in the bank confirm this: Several million leks more were put into circulation in the Pajove, Shales, Grekan, and "Progress" agricultural cooperatives.

This money now in circulation represents additional purchasing power in the district. From a narrow point of view, this addition to the money in circulation is a good thing, and testifies to the development of production and the smooth running of the economy. However, if there are no consumer goods for this increased purchasing power, the equilibrium is upset. If a balance between these factors in lost, inflation "rears its head," and enters the monetary sphere.

The district party committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council have not sat idly watching the bank introduce these extra millions into circulation. Extensive discussion has been organized on increasing consumer goods production. Workers, specialists, and cadres have voiced their opinions, and working methods have been corrected.

Before, all eyes turned for everything to the ministries, the State Planning Commission, and the government. Now, the district looks for reserves, first of all within the district; the enterprise looks within the enterprise, the cooperative within the cooperative, and the brigade within the brigade. Let us take the example of furniture production.

There are shortages of furniture in the retail network, particularly in the countryside. Even when one article is in plentiful supply, there are shortages of others. A study was undertaken on doubling or trebling production. What about machinery? Let us import it, some said. However, to ask for wood-processing equipment when many such machines have been bought and are not used to their full capacity is an antieconomic activity.

One must ask: Do we not have spare capacity within the district? The Wood Processing Combine had spare capacity, but not enough to meet this increased production. However, spare capacity was found particularly in the Iron and Steel Combine's construction enterprise.

Someone sowed the seed of doubt, and suggested that this capacity could not be used. Ministerial divisions stand in the way, because one combine is dependent on the Ministry of Industry and the other on the Ministry of Construction. However, both these enterprises are in the same district, and depend on the same state body. The Executive Committee of the District People's Council, surmounting bureaucratic procedures, decided that these two enterprises should cooperate in making use of the productive capacity.

The relative economic independence of the district, relying on the relative independence of the enterprises, also helps to change thinking about consumer goods production. The production of such goods is everybody's task, whether of the Iron and Steel Combine, a cement factory, an engineering plant, a procurement enterprise, an agricultural cooperative, or an agricultural enterprise. Discussion went on. Some people complained: "This means changing our job specification." This is not the principle at stake. Is there any principle more important than increasing consumer goods and supplying the people better, to meet their purchasing power?!

A wider conception of purchasing power and of finding ways to absorb it with consumer goods results in better supplies to the people, and secures immunity from inflation.

Gorbachev Election Viewed As 'Only Solution'

AU2203120390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Mar 90 p 4

[Ivan Undzhiev commentary: "The Only Solution"]

[Text] Political life in the USSR in recent weeks was marked by the discussion related to introducing the presidential system in the country. Finally, the Extraordinary Congress of the People's Deputies elected Mikhail Gorbachev as the first president with a great majority.

This solution hardly surprised anyone and it is not sensational. Regardless of how unusual it appeared at first look, the discussion was not about the issue of who should be the first president, but rather whether such great prerogatives should be concentrated in the hands of a single man. This was so because today Mikhail Gorbachev's authority is beyond question, and the confidence he enjoys prevails in anything related to concern with possible abuse of the prerogatives of the president. Indeed, the issue of constructing the rule-of-law state is significantly more complex and the opinions about the roads that must be followed toward this goal are different. In this sense, we also could benefit from the debate about the introduction of the presidential system, because we face similar problems in our daily political life. While refraining from generalization and profound conclusions, we must note the fact that the main problem faced by societies that are hungry for democracy is how to most painlessly overcome the crisis period of transition to comprehensive democratization. The destruction of a system that has existed for decades produces a vacuum that must rapidly be filled in order to avoid further great shocks. In other words, a centralized power is necessary in order to prevent democracy developing into anarchy. This centralized power must ensure the normal functioning of the state organs affected by the process of restructuring. On the other hand, excessive centralism could delay democracy and thus evoke a negative reaction in response. Hardly anyone could respond to the question of where the border between the necessary and the desirable lies. Therefore, perhaps the only solution is in the appearance of a strong personality; who has the moral qualities to be at the top without succumbing to the temptation of power, a personality who would relinquish his extraordinary prerogatives the moment that the new structures strengthen. The experience of the Soviet perestroyka shows that the processes cannot be mastered without such prerogatives.

It would be unrealistic to assume that all Soviet citizens unanimously support the new president. However, even his most radical opponents cannot deny his contribution to everything that is taking place in front of our eyes in the USSR, Europe, and the world. What until yesterday was a political fantasy of biblical miracles is today a fact. The initiator of perestroyka and the new political thinking deserves the confidence and the right to continue his great cause.

North Atlantic Assembly News Conference

AU2203172090 Sofia BTA in English 1604 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 March (BTA)—The stout British parliamentarian Bruce George admitted today that he was "a secret weapon" of NATO. The chairman of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly said at a press conference for Bulgarian and foreign journalists that by his desire, which was fulfilled yesterday, to be photographed on a Bulgarian tank, he wanted to test the strength of the tank.

Mr. Bruce George, who is paying a visit here with the assembly delegation, said that the Bulgarian military technique which was shown was somewhat out of date, but that the Turkish one is even more obsolete. At that point there was a certain reaction on the part of the Turkish members of the delegation.

The British parliamentarian spoke about the possibilities which the processes of democracy in this country open up for economic cooperation with the West, for partnership in the establishment of a lasting peace of a united and flowering Europe, in which Bulgaria will have a worthy place.

The assembly chairman Mr. Patrick Duffy expressed the opinion that this visit should perhaps have taken place earlier, which for him was one of the visit's lessons. We finally joined our efforts in the name of a new Europe and the building of a new security system which should serve as a model for the rest of the world, he said.

The Turkish M.P.'s [members of parliament] Ismail Shengun and Erol Agadjil, though with certain nuances due to their party belonging, developed the thesis about the good intentions of the Turkish official authorities regarding Bulgaria and placed the accent on the need to develop relations after elections take place in Bulgaria.

Tomorrow the guests are leaving the country.

Before the press conference the North Atlantic Assembly delegation had talks with BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] Chairman Viktor Vulkov, who dwelled on the need to establish a normal opposition in Bulgaria, at which the party's efforts are directed.

Albanian Foreign Minister on Macedonian Issue

AU2303113890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Mar 90 p 2

[Volodya Strativev report: "Reis Malile Departed"]

[Excerpts] On 16 March, prior to the departure of Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile from Bulgaria, he and his Bulgarian counterpart, Boyko Dimitrov, in an obviously good mood, made optimistic statements about the future of Bulgarian-Albanian relations. [passage omitted]

During the news conference, RABOTNICHESKO DELO asked the Albanian foreign minister: How do you assess the renewed campaign concerning the so-called "Macedonian issue?"

It is not wise on the part of Belgrade to create for itself problems with its neighbors, Reis Malile said. The internal problems they have to resolve will not benefit from the fact that attempts are being made to transfer them to relations with Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece. The factors are of a domestic nature, and they exist within the country. Obviously, domestic solutions must be sought, and simultaneously, their policy toward their neighbors must be corrected. It does not suffice to announce a certain policy and then refrain from implementing it. You cannot teach others. Ethics have no value if those who proclaim them fail to behave accordingly. In such cases everything becomes empty propaganda. We do not want to enter the maze of such propaganda. We think that the problems must be resolved through an open and honest dialogue, based on political prudence.

Afterward, Reis Malile left Bulgaria.

Public Institutions on Macedonian Question

AU0203105690 Sofia BTA in English
0810 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—In connection with the anti-Bulgarian campaign launched in Yugoslavia and in SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia in particular, the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation has sent an open letter to the Presidium of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples.

There is no "Macedonian ethnic minority" in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian population in the Pirin area has repeatedly and unequivocally confirmed its Bulgarian ethnic identity and its Bulgarian national awareness. Any honest man will get convinced in it, the letter says.

It is amazing that now certain leading political circles in Yugoslavia should raise questions which can drive us to confrontation and harm the mutual confidence and good neighbourly relations of the two countries, it is said in the declaration of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Any unbiased scholar would be aware that stirring up nationalistic feelings is one of the well-known ways in the history of man which leads to losing what all peoples cherish most —peace and stability in international relations.

The union of Thracian cultural and educational societies in Bulgaria, which unites more than 600 thousand refugees from Thracia, came out with a declaration which denounces the attempts of the politicians in Skopje to interfere in Bulgaria's internal affairs by raising the absurd question of a Macedonian ethnic minority.

North Koreans in Nation Appeal for Help

SK2303051690 Seoul YONHAP in English
0510 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Seoul, March 23 (YONHAP)—Four North Koreans who have lived in Bulgaria since 1962, when they refused to return home after completing their studies, appealed to visiting South Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung for help in winning Bulgarian Nationality Friday, according to the foreign ministry here. Yi Sang-chong, 52, a chemical institute researcher, handed Choe a petition appealing to the South Korean Government for help in achieving a "stable and happy life" in Bulgaria, the ministry said, quoting Chong Ui-yong, who is accompanying Choe on his official tour.

It said Choe passed on the appeal to his Bulgarian counterpart Boiko Dimitrov.

The North Koreans have been stateless since the Bulgarian Government secured their release from the North Korean Embassy in Sofia, which had incarcerated them because they refused to return to Pyongyang.

After the 1962 event, Pyongyang downgraded the status of its embassy in Sofia from ambassador level to charge d'affaires level and Bulgaria has denied them citizenship to prevent further diplomatic conflicts with North Korea.

The four, three of whom are married to Bulgarian women, claim to have been denied basic rights such as the freedom to travel overseas.

Mladenov Orders Investigation of Labor Camp

AU2203102990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] In connection with the information about the camp near Lovech, published by the newspapers and the Bulgarian Television, State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov has ordered the Chief Prosecutor's Office to immediately begin a preliminary investigation. The Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Bulgarian People's Army has been entrusted with the investigation, which has already begun.

Further on Camp 'Outrages'

AU2203125790 Sofia BTA in English
1139 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Mladenov Orders Prosecutor Probe of Labour Camp Outrages"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, has ordered the Prosecutor General's Office to initiate preliminary investigative proceedings on the outrages committed in a State Security labour camp in the late 1950s.

Details about the extrajudicial killings and brutal torture in a labour camp near the town of Lovech, northern

Bulgaria, emerged in a TV programme last week and in features carried by the national dailies.

The camp near Lovech functioned between 1959 and 1962. Ministry of Interior employees tortured and killed the inmates. The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council archives preserves a 1962 report of a commission of inquiry into the harsh regime and the outrages committed in the camp. Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO runs excerpts from this report. According to it, in 1962 the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP "reprimanded" the chief culprits for the brutal treatment of the inmates. The report claims that the inmates were the "dregs of society": thieves, rogues, drunkards and whores. There are serious suspicions, however, that some of those people were confined to the camp for political reasons.

According to the document, the camp, euphemistically designated as a "work detail", operated a stone quarry. The inmates were forced to fulfill back-breaking work quotas, almost without rest and at an intensity which could not be endured even by the physically fittest.

"Another essential feature of the camp was physical violence. Each newcomer received at least 10 or 15 lashes with a rubber whip, a stick or a club by way of "acclimation", says the report to the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, adding that stick lashing was also administered as punishment for slow work.

On March 18, the Every Sunday TV news and views show revealed that people were tied up into sacks and clubbed to death. The corpses were fed to hogs in another correction labour camp near the village of Belene on the River Danube. The same information appeared in early February in the regional newspaper of the town of Lovech but then it went unnoticed by the general public.

The 1962 commission described the wardens' conduct as "zeal verging on sadism".

The facts were widely known to competent officials and to the population in Lovech and the environs.

The harshest punishment which the Politburo of the CC of the BCP meted out after the inquiry was "reprimand".

The man in charge of the camp was the then deputy minister of the interior, General Mircho Spasov, now 79. Following the report on the camp outrages he was "reprimanded" but months later he was promoted to full membership of the CC of the BCP. He made a breathtaking career for himself, becoming first deputy minister of the interior and, in 1973, head of the Personnel, Party Branches and Business Trips Department of the CC of the BCP and, later on, of the Personnel Abroad Department of the CC of the BCP. He served as member of Parliament and was decorated with the highest state distinctions and honorary titles. He retired on pension in 1982, after a trial in which a former deputy minister of foreign affairs, Zhivko Popov, was convicted on corruption charges.

The State Council President's Office announced today that the investigation has got underway and has been assigned to the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office.

Human Rights Meeting Called for 26, 27 Mar

AU2203171090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria is convening a meeting in National Assembly Square in Sofia at 1730 on 26 and 27 March. The leadership of the association has notified the Sofia City People's Council of the meeting.

The meeting is called in support of the demands for immediate radical changes, for defense of human rights in Bulgaria, for the immediate resignation of the single-party government, and for the appointment to a caretaker government of persons with no connection with any of the existing political formations.

Lilov, Lukanov Address BCP Rallies

AU2203201590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] In the 9 September Square in Varna today, the municipal party organization held a rally. Supreme Council Chairman Aleksandur Lilov of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] addressed the rally.

Aleksandur Lilov stressed that the party's new tasks relating to the renewal of democracy impose the need for radical and complete changes everywhere and in everything.

The rally was also addressed by workers, scientists, and representatives of the intelligentsia.

Later Aleksandur Lilov held a meeting with the party activists of the city, at which the political situation in the country was assessed.

An all-city meeting was held in Khaskovo this evening, organized by the municipal BCP council. Speakers at the meeting included representatives from agriculture, industrial enterprises, and the city's intelligentsia.

In his speech, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov pointed out that everyone should take part in the renewal processes in the country. It lies in our hands and those of all people of like mind, he said, to find a way out of the acute economic crisis, in the interest of the country.

The BCP platform, Andrey Lukanov stressed, envisions social security for all strata of the population in the conditions of the market economy and the utilization of private, collective, and state property.

Judges Union Calls for Independent Legal System

*AU2203201790 Sofia BTA in English
1847 GMT 22 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—The judges which gathered here today for a constituent assembly of the Union of Judges and Legal Officers declared themselves for independent legislature.

The drafts for programme and statute of the union envisages besides that depolitization of the legal system, prosecutor's office and investigation, the establishment of administrative and constitutional courts and other measures for turning Bulgaria into a law-abiding democratic state.

The Union of Judges will be a free and politically non-committed social, professional and creative?organization.

Government Encourages Private Economic Initiative

*AU2203202990 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 22 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers removed today restrictions on gathering of work forces by private companies. "The ceiling" of 10 people is removed and private companies will be able to hire personnel, as large as they want to.

In it envisaged that private companies will be offered the right to foreign economic activity against 20 per cent of the currency incomes, which they would have to sell the state.

The government adopted proposals for privatization of objects from trade and public catering and for liberalization of price formation for household services and some non-alimentary goods for mass consumption.

More than 40 per cent of the legal acts which impeded the companies' initiatives were removed.

At a session, headed by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, the draft law was considered for granting the land to those who toiled it. The project will be presented for nation-wide discussion.

The government adopted resolutions for economy of water due to the drought in this country.

Internal Affairs Official on Militia Renewal

AU2203204690

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian of 21 March carries on page 3 a 1,800-word interview with Lyuben Gotsev, Ministry of Internal Affairs first deputy minister, by an unnamed RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter, entitled "Old Sins and New Hopes," dealing with the role and public image of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The place and date of the interview are not given.

The first passage of the interview is devoted to details of Gotsev's personal biography and career.

The rest of the interview deals with the role of the Internal Affairs Ministry in the past and today. Gotsev tries to explain the reasons for the public's "actual lack of confidence in the Ministry of Internal Affairs." He blames the "totalitarian system" and the former party leadership's efforts to transform the Ministry of Internal Affairs' forces into the "party's armed unit." He criticizes the "merging of the state security forces and the party organs," which should be attributed to the actual "impotence of the totalitarian regime," in his opinion.

As to the present situation, Gotsev sharply criticizes the "artificial fanning of distrust toward the Ministry of Internal Affairs by certain circles with obvious political tendencies." He describes the recent reforms within the ministry, pledging that from now on the militia forces will no longer be the "sword and shield of the proletariat" in charge of protecting an authoritarian regime, but the "protectors and defenders of the people's interests and of democracy."

Asked about the relations between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the intelligentsia, Gotsev points out that many employees of the "so-called sinister" Sixth Department of State Security were far from repressing the intellectuals, but on the contrary, "within the limits of their possibilities, they suggested that the methods applied against the intelligentsia were unnecessary and did not serve the party and state; they insisted on the requirement for a dialogue with the intellectuals, instead of confrontation." Gotsev adds that "such things were not known to the general public, as I understand, but I can assure you that I am speaking the truth." Gotsev admits that "mistakes were allowed to occur, and incorrect behavior toward individual representatives of the intelligentsia was tolerated; some people were actually insulted and unjustly sanctioned." Gotsev further points out: "We must apologize for such acts and I would like to express my most profound, personal regret for the suffering caused to a number of talented and courageous people." Gotsev further describes recent measures aimed at improving relations between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Bulgarian intellectuals, such as joint seminars, discussions, and special courses arranged for improving the professional qualifications and general education of the ministry's employees.

Asked about the relations between the militia organs and the legal institutions, such as the Prosecutor's Office and the law courts, Gotsev dwells on the "shortcomings" of the past, stemming from "incorrect decisions adopted on the instructions of the totalitarian regime," which also involved the organs of the prosecution and the law courts because "they were all links of the same chain" under the totalitarian system. "For this reason we now welcome the division of power and the independence of all these links that should be subject to the inviolable power of the law," he states.

In the final passage of the interview, Gotsev deals with "constructive achievements" of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, pointing out that they existed even under totalitarianism. He states in this connection: "It may be difficult to believe under the present circumstances, but it is a fact that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor's Office were persistent supporters and even initiators of the adoption of laws and political decisions on the legalization of informal groups in 1988 and 1989. Specific draft proposals were even submitted for this purpose, but they got lost in the labyrinth of the totalitarian system's hierarchy. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, and the Prosecutor's Office, initiated the adoption of the new laws on Bulgarian citizens' travels abroad and the elimination of outdated paragraphs from the Penal Code. We also positively know that the Ministry of Internal Affairs strongly advocated the timely coordination of our legislation with the Vienna final documents, and so forth."

Opposition Leader Discusses New Paper

AU2203124390 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Yordan Vasilev, editor in chief of DEMOKRATSIYA, the newspaper of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria, by Piotr Gadzinowski; place and date not given: "I Would Even Publish a Letter from Todor Zhivkov"]

[Excerpts] [Gadzinowski] How does one start an opposition newspaper in Bulgaria? Who finances you, and how much money does one need at the beginning?

[Vasilev] We were able to organize everything in a matter of two weeks. It was done so quickly that even now I do not know how we managed to do it. Of course it became possible to do it because the ruling Communist Party was forced to renounce its monopoly of power.

We began with the 10,000 leva that we had at the beginning, and in the first week of our existence we managed to raise a further 24,000 leva from various collections. We have planned our budget so that we do not go into debt, and we even hope to generate a small profit with which we hope to support the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF].

[Gadzinowski] What is the current circulation of your paper, and is it popular?

[Vasilev] Our print run is ludicrously small, namely, some 70,000 copies. You must have seen copies of our paper pasted on walls everywhere. This is the only way that we can hope to make it better known. The number of copies we print is simply not enough to go around. People begin lining up before six in the morning at the kiosks, but the kiosks only receive about 10 copies each. In comparison, the circulation of the Communist RABOTNICHESKO DELO is 800,000 copies and it is the only newspaper that you can presently buy in the evening without having to line up for it. [passage omitted]

[Gadzinowski] You describe yourselves as the paper of the UDF. How would you describe the relationship between the paper and the UDF? Is there any structure outside the editorial office that sets the political tone of the paper?

[Vasilev] There is none. We only have a editorial council comprised of representatives of all the parties that form the UDF. This council has an advisory function and until now nobody on the council has actually read any of the articles before they are published. I have not received any suggestions, or had pressure put on me that anything should be changed.

[Gadzinowski] Have there really been no instances of conflict, no matter how small, or any attempts at censorship?

[Vasilev] None at all. At the moment, we are not subject to any kind of censorship, from the state or from the UDF, at all. Much of our material is received at the last moment before the print deadline.

[Gadzinowski] What distinguishes DEMOKRATSIYA from all the other Bulgarian papers, which are now quite differentiated?

[Vasilev] Only our paper maintains a true opposition line. All the other papers do publish a lot of critical matoerials, but in essence they support the present authorities.

[Gadzinowski] Is your paper trying to present a different journalistic style?

[Vasilev] When we founded the paper, we accepted the premise that we would abandon long articles in favor of reportage, much information, and shorter articles. So far we have not been able to implement this in practice. The 40-year-long silence of Bulgarian journalism has now transformed itself into a flood of articles, and some are very important.

We also differ in our interpretation of basic political terminology. We use the same words as the official press, but in contrast to it, we do not believe that socialism has any future. The official press, on the other hand, maintains that socialism should be thoroughly reformed.

[Gadzinowski] What political program are you proposing?

[Vasilev] Similar to the rest of Europe. Politically, we want to see parliamentary democracy, and economically, we want free competition, market mechanisms, and privatization. [passage omitted]

[Gadzinowski] Has DEMOKRATSIYA carried articles critical of the forces that comprise the UDF?

[Vasilev] We have not had such material to date. Our opposition is still weak and there are no writers who would want to attack it. I have personally strongly begun to urge my writers to be more self-critical. For other writers who are not part of our journalistic staff, we have begun to publish a guest column entitled "Open Tribune" and recently we carried a letter from the former deputy editor of RABOTNICHESKO DELO. He circulated his letter to all the papers, but only our paper decided to publish it. In this letter he describes the circumstances of his dismissal. It transpires that he was thrown out without a word of explanation. Maybe I managed badly, and maybe I wrote a lot of rubbish, but this has to be proved, otherwise things will remain the same as they were before 10 December, he writes. Just like in Zhivkov's time.

As you can see our paper is open to all. If I ever received a letter from Todor Zhivkov I would publish it immediately.... [passage omitted]

[Gadzinowski] After GAZETA WYBORCZA, your paper is the second opposition paper in central-eastern Europe. At the present time you are an election campaign newspaper. What will be the result of the upcoming Bulgarian election?

[Vasilev] This is a very difficult question to answer. I think the opposition will not win these elections, but, on the other hand, the Communists will lose them. They will be doing everyone a favor by losing these elections. The last time we had elections, one of the party list candidates said that the situation was such that even if a donkey named "Solidarity" had run against him, the people would have voted for the donkey.

[Gadzinowski] Surely you mean a cow....

[Vasilev] Possibly. In Sofia things could go how they went in Poland last year. However, outside the cities there is a great deal of apprehension. People who would like to vote for the opposition are very much afraid of doing so.

Boyko Dimitrov on Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum

AU0603093990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Mar 90 p 1

[Letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov to RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board; dated 2 March: "In Connection With the 'Opinion of Three Persons'"]

[Text] To the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board:

I support and adhere to the "Opinion of the Three Persons" published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO of 1 March. I think that it is my right and patriotic duty to take a stand.

The mark left by Georgi Dimitrov on our history cannot be measured by the kind or size of monuments erected in his honor. The ideas and deeds of the man and statesman, and the people's memory of his enchanting personality are the real historical measure. His image does not need any hyperbole or artificial gilding, and less than anything else does it need to be turned into an icon.

I reached this position already at the time my personality was formed. For many years I carried this idea within myself as a deep truth and pain. I have never shared it publicly, because I would never have been understood or supported.

Since 10 November things have been fundamentally changing. In the process of the moral purification of Bulgarian society, it is now time to correct the distortion that Dimitrov became posthumously. We must do this in the name of the party's honor and dignity, and in the name of our traditions and Dimitrov himself.

2 March, 1990. Boyko Dimitrov.

Democratic Party Slogans at Rally Noted

AU0603092990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Mar 90 p 6

[Plamen Enchev report: "Well-Known Slogans"]

[Text] At about 1900 [1700 GMT] on 2 March, the rain over Sofia turned into snow, while the umbrellas of the supporters of the Democratic Party who were attending the rally at the St. Sofia Church were more numerous than the slogans.

The rally was organized by the Democratic Party, but very little was said about the party at the rally. This was an anticommunist rally. The slogans were the familiar ones from the recent rallies of the Union of Democratic Forces. The cameraman from Bulgarian Television made a sign with his hand and the participants started to chant the slogans.

Communism—this is corruption, obscenity, and state terrorism, Ivaylo Kutov said.

Today there is a single slogan—Away with the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], Aleksandur Yordanov added. We can overthrow the BCP even before the elections, this is our chance, he ended his thought.

We think that yesterday's theater organized by the BCP at the stadium is a deed against Bulgaria's fate, Stefan Stoyanov said.

I left the rally of the Democratic Party not out of disrespect for the speakers. Squeezed by two strong persons that smelled of low-quality alcohol, I was not able to write down everything that was said from the rostrum. Their curses and screams pierced my eardrums.

Nevertheless, I understood that "the basic principles of the Democratic Party totally contradict Marxism, socialism, and its beastly doctrine...."

Women's Democratic Union Takes Step for Ecology

AU0303173390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpt] The Women's Democratic Union continued its constituent forum today in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. The delegates are discussing draft documents for the platform and statute of the new organization. Many congratulatory telegrams are arriving at the forum, different initiatives are being put forward, and assurances are being made. The forum welcomed with approval a proposal by the leadership of the Rest, Recreation, and Spa Treatment Trust that states: In connection with the ecological situation and the damage to the health of the children from the village of Kuklen, Plovdiv region, [words indistinct] Kurdzhali, and [words indistinct], The Rest and Recreation Trust is providing 3,000 free places for children from the ecologically threatened regions for the periods from 12 April to 30 May and from 1 September to 30 December. [passage omitted]

Lukanov Outlines State of Economy

AU0303141190 Sofia BTA in English 2241 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Lukanov Defers Anti-Crisis Package"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Today the government supplied the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) with detailed information about the state of the country's economy. Next week the cabinet will hold consultations with opposition experts on the key aspects of its crisis-management programme, said Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at his regular press conference here.

Earlier in the day this was confirmed by a representative of the SDS.

Owing to the need of wide-ranging consultations, the programme will not go before the National Assembly session which opens on Monday.

Mr. Lukanov said that the 1990 draft national budget which will be submitted to parliament envisages to halve the payments deficit from 1,200 million U.S. dollars to 660 million dollars.

Budget allocations for investment will be cut down dramatically and they will be practically limited to the power industry. The state will save considerable funds from the reduced expenditures on government departments, diplomatic missions, the Army and the security forces, as well as from cancelled subsidies for money-losing productions and for under-cost prices.

The prime minister said that the West shows consideration for his efforts to enlist support for Bulgaria's way out of the economic crisis. Extensive use is being made of the advice of foreign experts, mainly from Western Europe.

Mr. Lukanov motivated in detail his ideas to take well-advised steps to shape economic conditions which would eliminate ineffective productions and would eliminate incompetent managers. "As to corrupt managers, and there are many of them, they will be ousted only through genuine democracy, glasnost and criticism," he said.

Next week the government will adopt a document to encourage private and cooperative enterprise in retailing, services, home and international tourism, small and medium-size businesses. At the same time, over 30 outdated statutory acts standing in the way of free enterprise will be repealed.

One month ago a similar document laid down incentives for private enterprise in agriculture.

Answering a reporter's question, Mr. Andrey Lukanov confirmed a TIME news magazine report of February 26, according to which sixteen years ago Mr. Lukanov told a TIME reporter that he saw Bulgaria's future in a combination of Marxism with a market economy. When he found out that his informal statement was going to be published, Mr. Lukanov, who was then deputy minister of foreign trade, asked the U.S. journalist, Mr. Strobe Talbott, to leave out this remark. "Maybe I showed the white feather then, I don't know," Mr. Lukanov said. Mr. Talbott assumes that his honesty then saved the career of the young Bulgarian politician.

Mladenov Meets Patriotic Movement Members

AU0203203990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] At the initiative of the leaders of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, and the Rhodope Alliance for Patriotism [Rodolyubie], State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov received a group of representatives from these movements.

The meeting was also attended by National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov, and Legislative Commission Chairman Ginyo Ganev.

During the talks, various alternatives were discussed for resolving the nationality issue because the preparation of specific solutions is in the interest of all the people. Stress was laid on the special importance of speedily applying the judicial procedures that are prescribed in the new law on names of Bulgarian citizens, which will be submitted for examination at the National Assembly session on 5 March.

In connection with the political strike declared in certain regions of the country, all the representatives and leaders of the three movements emphasized that this part of the population must now wait, in order to allow time for the consultations to be completed and for solutions to be found that will lead to national concord, established in the form of law.

Progressive People's Party Formed in Sofia

AU0203135990 Sofia BTA in English 1313 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—A new national political organization has been set up here, the Progressive People's Party. It is pointed out in its ideological and political platform and statute that the party will seek to contribute to the establishment of an economically stable, intellectually free, law-ruled and democratic civil society of equal opportunities.

Ideologically and theoretically the party will not draw on any particular philosophical or ideological platform; it will make use of all achievements of social thought for the assertion of the intransient spiritual values and the values of political democracy. According to its founders now there should be tolerance, compromises and civilized political dialogue among all public forces in the country.

The members of the new party shall not propagate in any form whatsoever violence, racial, national, ethnic or religious hatred, discrimination, militarism or totalitarian ideology. The party will respect all positive achievements and ambitions of the other parties and it is ready to cooperate with all public forces that have similar objectives.

Mladenov Discusses Elections, Zhivkov, Reform

AU0203143690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Mar 90 p 6

[Interview with Bulgarian head of state Petur Mladenov by Manfred Schell; place and date not given]

[Text] [Schell] Will there be free and secret elections in Bulgaria in 1990?

[Mladenov] Yes. We in Bulgaria want democratic elections so that everybody can make their political decisions on the basis of their ideologies and personal views. These free and democratic elections will also determine the future path of Bulgaria. We will invite guests to these elections—representatives of parliaments of various countries, including deputies of the German Bundestag. They will not be observers but guests, who, if they so want, can travel to all communities and collect firsthand information on the course of the elections.

[Schell] When will the elections be held? Different dates have been given.

[Mladenov] When I was still Communist Party general secretary, I said that elections would be held in May 1990. Guided by its ambition to respond to the desire of the opposition, the Supreme Party Council has now proposed the month of June. In my capacity as State Council chairman, I will not object to this date. I would like all parties to have equal opportunities. The election result should reflect the real political weight of parties and movements in Bulgaria.

[Schell] In clear language this means that the Communists will have to go into opposition if the voters should so decide?

[Mladenov] Yes, that is correct. This is a fundamental issue. In the future, those who win the elections in Bulgaria will be in power. If the opposition wins, it will be given the power.

[Schell] Various political groups have advocated a coalition government, at least for the period following the first democratic elections. Are there obvious reasons for such a government?

[Mladenov] Bulgaria needs the concentration of all political forces. Every government needs a wide basis. This is why there are obvious reasons for forming a coalition government. I will certainly advocate such a constellation of forces. This also means that even if the Communist Party were to win the absolute majority in the elections, it will offer the opposition the chance to participate in the government.

[Schell] Your background is in the Communist Party, which, during several decades, was used to exercise power on the basis of an absolute claim to power. Even now, before the elections, the opposition has become a political factor that must be considered. Does this not cause you any problems in the way you perceive yourself?

[Mladenov] Personal feelings do not matter in Bulgaria now. The interests of the country must be placed above those of the party. I respect the leaders of the opposition. I regard them as my partners and I gladly accept their advice. As Communist Party general secretary, I saw things in a different light. As State Council chairman, it is my duty to be detached from the parties. So far I have not yet heard of any complaints from the opposition.

[Schell] In your opinion, what is the purpose of the great rallies and demonstrations in Sofia?

[Mladenov] They serve primarily as a sort of valve. You must not forget that, after many decades, the people now for the first time have the opportunity to take to the street and to speak freely. Until 10 November 1989, this was impossible in Bulgaria. Many people release pressure at these rallies. Many members of the population also advocate a faster pace of reform. We are right in the middle of a political dialogue and the election campaign. If everything remains constructive, this is not a bad thing.

[Schell]Ten November 1989 is a key date. How was Zhivkov overthrown?

[Mladenov] With legitimate means. Legitimate—that is based on the Constitution and the party statutes. It was not a putsch.

[Schell] Could you explain this more precisely?

[Mladenov] The Politburo was discussing the situation in the presence of Zhivkov. Subsequently there was a discussion by the Central Committee in which he also took part. All agreed that he ought to be released from his office.

[Schell] Is it true that in that crucial moment it was you, the foreign minister at that time, and the defense minister that directed the decisive words against Zhivkov?

[Mladenov] Let me put it this way: I have been friends with the defense minister for many years. He is a patriot and a man who thinks and acts out of a sense of responsibility.

[Schell] What was the role of the interior minister at that time?

[Mladenov] Let me put it this way: I could not describe his character in the same way as that of the defense minister. Anyway, it was the unanimous decision of the plenum.

[Schell] Did the Muslim question—which first caused the flight of hundreds of thousands to Turkey, and which strained the relationship with your neighboring country—play a decisive role in the fall of Zhivkov?

[Mladenov] It certainly was one of the crucial questions that made the replacement of Zhivkov necessary. These vital questions also included the general development in our country and party, and the political developments in the USSR and in Europe. The way in which the Muslims were dealt with in Bulgaria at the order of Zhivkov has caused considerable internal and external problems for our country. We are just about to overcome these problems.

[Schell] Did you disagree with the former party head in this question?

[Mladenov] Zhivkov made a great mistake in this respect. Yes, I had a different opinion. As the then-foreign minister, I could feel the negative effects of our position. This policy also was against the opinion of the majority of Bulgarians. According to our Constitution, the Muslims have the same rights as everybody else whose home is on the territory of Bulgaria. Now we have embarked on the right path. The world has understood the road that we are now following.

[Schell] How do you shape relations with Turkey now?

[Mladenov] We have the best feelings for Turkey because it is our neighbor, even though history did not always mean well with us. Nevertheless, history is history. We want good relations with Turkey on the basis of good-neighborly relations, and I am confident that we will attain them. I hope that those who are responsible in Turkey also believe and act in this spirit.

[Schell] Do you expect that all those Muslims who fled to Turkey will return to Bulgaria?

[Mladenov] Some of them are returning each day. Hundreds of thousands have returned to Bulgaria. The reason for it is obvious. Those who want to return are welcome. If they try to find their luck somewhere else then that is also good. Our citizens can travel freely. They can retain Bulgarian citizenship, they may assume another one—they can even have two citizenships. A group of Bulgarian Muslims went to Sweden and said they were political emigrants. The Swedes sent them back after representatives of the Swedish Foreign Ministry had assured themselves here that these Muslims are not persecuted.

[Schell] Will Zhivkov face trial?

[Mladenov] We have not decided yet. Right now we are carrying out preliminary investigations. I can guarantee you that if these investigations do not provide sufficient evidence, he will not be sentenced. However, if there is sufficient evidence, Zhivkov will be go to court. The state does not interfere in the work of the state prosecutors. The law was violated in many cases. Yet I plead for a clean trial on the basis of the rule of law, even though this is not what Zhivkov conceded to his opponents. Other countries have resorted to different means.

[Schell] Are your referring to Ceausescu and Romania?

[Mladenov] I will not give you an answer to this. All I say is that the law must stand above everything else. An act of illegality must not be punished on the basis of another act of illegality. So I do not know whether Zhivkov will be sentenced or not.

[Schell] Do you mean this in a general sense, namely that a political new beginning must not start with a show trial in order to come to terms with the past?

[Mladenov] Exactly. A new beginning must not begin with a mistake.

[Schell] Where is Zhivkov at this moment? Is he in prison, or maybe in hospital?

[Mladenov] As a result of his deteriorating health, Zhivkov is now in hospital, but he is also guarded.

[Schell] How will Zhivkov's family be treated?

[Mladenov] Those members of his family that have infringed upon the law will have to face legal proceedings.

[Schell] Will there be an amnesty for political prisoners who were detained before 10 November 1989?

[Mladenov] An amnesty has been decreed. Now we are investigating other cases as well.

[Schell] Parts of the Bulgarian opposition claim that Zhivkov is responsible for the death of two people. It is said that in the fifties he gave the order to eliminate two opponents in this way.

[Mladenov] Yes, I have heard that. However, one will first have to prove it. The state prosecutor's investigations also deal with this. If these charges are sustained, Zhivkov will have to bear the responsibility for it. However, to me it is important to have watertight proof. Without this criterion one can say anything.

[Schell] What do you think about those who claim that the Communist Party is not even interested in clearing these matters up and putting Zhivkov on trial because it might "harm" others?

[Mladenov] Such accusations have nothing to do with the truth. We established authoritative committees to investigate deformations of and infringements upon the law in the era of Zhivkov's rule. They work under the supervision of society and parliament, and even include representatives of the opposition. Every single accusation will be investigated. Those who are found guilty will face just punishment under the law of our country.

[Schell] Earlier you said quite rightly that it is necessary to produce evidence, because otherwise one would give informers and others the possibility to say "anything."

[Mladenov] You cannot imagine what kind of things people say about others in Bulgaria. This is also a result of a more relaxed attitude and of democracy.

[Schell] Such as what?

[Mladenov] That I have several millions in my savings account.

[Schell] Leva?

[Mladenov] No, dollars. What do you want me to answer to this?

[Schell] The truth.

[Mladenov] I was foreign minister for 18 years. It is not difficult to add up what I have earned. My wife worked as a reporter for a magazine. If I had these ominous millions I would have had to steal. Yet then I would not be at the head of the State Council but in prison.

[Schell] How much did you make as foreign minister?

[Mladenov] During my time as foreign minister I made 1,200 leva per month. Now, as president, I get 1,500. This is my income. My wife gets a small pension. I have two students at home—my daughter and my son-in-law. I have one grandchild, and my daughter is expecting a second baby. These are the facts.

[Schell] Today a book is being written in many places, and its title is: "How To Reform Socialism?" What does the last chapter of the Bulgarian version look like?

[Mladenov] We want to take the best that people have created in the different systems.

[Schell] That almost sounds as if you were in a laboratory, that is, testing the transition from political dictatorship and command economy to a free society?

[Mladenov] That is good metaphor. As far as I remember, the size of this experiment is rather unique in history.

[Schell] The difficulty lies in developing the experimental phase into specific actions. For example, what criteria will determine the future economic policy in Bulgaria?

[Mladenov] The most important question is that of ownership. In the future, all forms of ownership will be equal in Bulgaria on the basis of a law: state ownership, cooperative ownership, and private ownership. There will be no more priorities. Practice will show what forms of ownership will stand the test of time and prevail.

You asked me about the future course of our economic policy. Our economic development will be determined and controlled by the market mechanisms. There were attempts to ignore the term of the "market." There were statements according to which there was no market in socialism. This is not true. There is a market, and everything will be based on this market. Our key terms for the future are: right to ownership and market economy.

[Schell] What securities, what opportunities does Bulgaria offer foreign investors?

[Mladenov] We guarantee them the right to ownership. There are no restrictions. Foreign investors are welcome in Bulgaria. They may participate in businesses and enterprises or found new ones, whatever they want. They can export up to 100 percent of their profit, in convertible currency. Of course we would prefer them to reinvest the profit in our country. However, this must be decided by the investors.

[Schell] What percentage of participation is possible?

[Mladenov] There are no limits here. Participation of up to 100 percent is possible. This means that participation and cooperation in any form, but also foreign enterprises on Bulgarian territory are possible.

[Schell] In what is Bulgaria particularly interested?

[Mladenov] Bulgaria is interested in many things. However, the state has set three priorities: First of all, investments will be made in agriculture, second in the foodstuffs industry, and third in the sphere of tourism. In this way, we can quickly achieve success and make financial means available. We have a market, traditions, and raw materials in this sphere.

[Schell] Who is to become economic partner No. 1 in Europe for this concept?

[Mladenov] Bulgaria has traditionally good trade relations with a number of states in Europe. We attribute special significance to cooperation with an "economic giant" like the FRG.

[Schell] What were Bulgaria's motives for applying to the IMF? Does Sofia want proof of its international financial standing?

[Mladenov] Bulgaria cannot develop outside the internationally important organizations. We are part of Europe and the world. We are also conducting talks with the EC. Bulgaria's future lies in the concept of itself being politically and economically part of the modern Europe. Our goal is to one day become an associated member of the EC.

[Schell] Does this mean that Bulgaria will become a "Western" country?

[Mladenov] Not quite. Bulgaria opens itself up to Europe, a Europe in which the division between East and West will only be of marginal significance in the future.

[Schell] Rumor has it that Zhivkov repeatedly offered Bulgaria to the Soviet Union. Is this true?

[Mladenov] It is true. Unfortunately. There were such ideas. However, Khrushchev and Brezhnev rejected the offer, for good reasons. Bulgaria has a 1,300-year history. It is situated at a nerve point, and it has always been of special importance for the Germans and the Russians. The country should remain independent. This is also in line with the interests of the European states. I myself have never submitted such an offer to Gorbachev, and I will not do that in the future. Also, Gorbachev would not accept such an offer.

[Schell] When I conducted an interview with Zhivkov here (DIE WELT 27 and 28 May 1987), I asked him about the background to the attack on the pope. He denied any participation on the Bulgarian part. Is this statement still valid?

[Mladenov] Yes, it is. We were forced to deal with this question, including myself, in my capacity as foreign minister. Bulgaria could have no motives to participate in such a crime. I tried to explain this to the pope as well, and I think he understood me. By the way, the pope will pay a visit to Bulgaria before the end of 1990. Why should he not?

[Schell] Is there a religious renaissance in Bulgaria?

[Mladenov] It is difficult for me to answer this question. A sociological study has revealed that 40 percent of the Bulgarian population consider themselves religious. This is quite a high percentage. However, I do not see anything bad about this.

[Schell] The atheist Mladenov is not worried?

[Mladenov] No, this does not worry me. It is true that I am an atheist. However, I have always understood religious feelings. Let me tell you something: My wife's mother shares our house. She is religious. She goes to church every Sunday. This is her private business. I do not interfere with that. And she does not try to convert me.

[Schell] What impact will the fundamental changes in Sofia, Budapest, Prague, and East Berlin have on the political landscape in Europe?

[Mladenov] We see these changes within the framework of a large-scale process of renewal that will contribute to the complete elimination of confrontation and to the activation of economic, cultural, and human relations.

[Schell] What about the concept of the Warsaw Pact as a "military" alliance? Do you not think it should be dissolved?

[Mladenov] As long as NATO exists, it is quite logical that the balance is preserved by another security organization. As is known, the Warsaw Pact states have embarked on a clear course aimed at changing the character of this organization, at strengthening its political character at the cost of the military component. We expect NATO to take a similar step. As a result of the changes in Europe, a political and strategic atmosphere has been created that is conducive to the reduction of the military factor in guaranteeing security. In my view, a collective system for security and cooperation, which has often been described as the common European home, should be our joint goal.

[Schell] What do you think about the unification of the two parts of Germany?

[Mladenov] Unification depends on the sovereign will of the two German states. However, the realities in present-day Europe and the legitimate interests of the other states on the continent must be taken into consideration as well.

[Schell] Amid all the euphoria and hope, the nightmarish idea has repeatedly surfaced in the states "concerned" that the new liberties might again be removed by old Stalinists in case Gorbachev fails. No matter what happens in Moscow, will there be no return to the status quo ante—for Bulgaria and the other countries?

[Mladenov] I am deeply convinced that such a backward step would offer no prospects.

Leader on New Patriotic Alliance 'Defense'

AU0503123490 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 1 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Geo Donev, chairman of the "recently formed Independent Patriotic Alliance 'Defense'" with unidentified member of paper's editorial board; place and date not given: "Where the Feeling of Nationhood Does Not Disappear"]

[Excerpt] [Editor] Comrade Donev, so far more than 65 parties, associations, and other organizations have been formed. What is your comment on this fact?

[Donev] First of all, this represents a portrait of democratization. In the freer conditions of life the variegated national spirit is seeking ways to fulfill itself and actively participate in our public life. I think this spirit is like seeds that have sprouted under the heavy stone of totalitarianism and now, when this stone has been removed, they are flourishing. However, as well as the fine feeling of liberty, one also feels a little alarm because the platforms of the majority of them are very similar, although this does not provide a reason for them to unite. I think that the fault lies in the desire to lead and command.

[Editor] In parallel with the recently formed Independent Patriotic Alliance "Defense," certain other organizations have also been reestablished or created, such as the Macedonian Cultural and Educational Society, the Society for Links With Bulgarians in Moldavia, and, recently, the Society for Protection of Bulgarians Abroad. Is there not some duplication of aims and tasks between these societies and your alliance?

[Donev] Many of our tasks are the same, but this is beneficial. Our motto is: "Forward; where knowledge lives, the feeling of nationhood does not disappear," and this motto fully explains our goals. Without engaging in politics, we are campaigning for the monolithic unity of the Bulgarian nation, for the rights of every Bulgarian citizen in Bulgaria and every Bulgarian and friend of Bulgaria throughout the world, for the purity of our customs and traditions, and against pan-Turkism, pan-Slavism, and other reactionary tendencies directed against our national identification. Of course, this is only part of our program. We also promote the study of local customs, history, and culture, and of our national background, and support all patriotic movements connected with our national unity; such a noble aim cannot be turned to selfish ends either by politics, or by personal ambitions. We naturally regard ourselves as friends and allies of the societies you mentioned in the campaign against oblivion.... [passage omitted]

'Club of Radical Delegates' Discusses Goals

AU0503100190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Professor Asen Zhablenski, Coordination Council of the Road to Europe Platform member, by unidentified RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] At the Second Conference of the Alterantive Socialist Association [ASO], the establishment of a Club of Radical Delegates to the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Extraordinary Congress was announced. Professor Asen Zhablenski, Road to Europe Platform's Coordination Council member, is also a member of this club. We interviewed him on the goals and tasks of the clubs seen from his point of view.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Prof. Zhablenskio, can you describe the reasons for establishing the club and for your own participation in it?

[Zhablenski] The establishment of the club was rather improvised. In one of the recesses of the ASO Conference, the former delegates to the Extraordinary BCP Congress discussed a declaration that in its initial form contained criticism of the manner in which the congressional leadership conducted the election. Another declaration was subsequently conceived, namely, to establish a club of radical congress delegates as a first step toward unity and toward rallying the reformist forces with the BCP. The club is still an idea for the time being. [passage omitted criticizing conservative forces at BCP Congress]

The sharpest criticism at the BCP Congress was evoked by the manner in which the leadership proceeded on certain items of the agenda and the proposal of a list of the future BCP Supreme Council composition. It was my personal opinion that the publication of this list would be extremely disadvantegous and even disastrous for the party's public image, especially considering the pre-election situation. Without repeatedly dwelling on this fact and on the contradictions provoked by the election of additional Supreme Council members, I think that the composition of the council represents to a great extent a cross section of the party's real composition with its two opposite poles.

One pole is represented by the so-called reformist wing. These are poeple who would like to see a party with a new image and a new name. The other pole is composed of people who still adhere to the traditional methods of the past and who are not inclined to accept the realities of the current changes in our country. Because of this, or in addition to this fact, they do not have a very realistic view on the BCP's role and on the dangers threatening it. Some members of the party have not yet clearly joined one or other poles. Naturally, the party leadership, which is closer to the reformist wing, but is obliged to maintain the balance, belongs to this group. For this reason, the composition of the Supreme Party Council is complicated and contradictory, and this, in my opinion, explains its difficult start.

It is my personal opinion that the party should present itself to the people and to the public not only with the documents and declarations it has adopted, but also with a new image that should not be identified only with words, but also with a new name in the people's consciousness. The party must assume a new name as a symbol of real change. In my opinion, the party should also clearly distance itself from the retrograde forces that are holding it back. Because even if these forces do not pull it back but make it stay in the same place, this is actually a form of stagnation.

From the theoretical point of view, there are no essential differences between ASO, the Road to Europe, and the

Democratic Forum. We all know each other, we have a common language. Our differences are rather related to questions of tactics and organization. The new statute allows for inner-party associations on the basis of ideas. For this reason, I think that it is high time to bury our differences.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can you describe the practical activities that the club intends to engage in, and your idea about what these activities should be like?

[Zhablenski] I think that it should act as an operation staff of the left, a reformist wing, as an organizational staff of the election campaign. [passage omitted on election campaign activities] In my opinion, an important function of the club should be to establish contacts with the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces].

A left wing also exists within the UDF and it is much closer to the left wing of the party than to other opposition groups. As a matter of fact, some UDF members are Communist Party members. [passage omitted on requirement of involving interesting nonparty figures of the world of science, economics, and culture in the election campaign at the side of the party's reformist wing].

Daily Greets Podkrepa Newspaper on Publication

AU2303112290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Mar 90 p 2

['RD'-signed article: "'Podkrepa' With Its Own Newspaper"]

[Text] Another title has appeared in the journalistic market—the preliminary issue of the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation, called PODKREPA.

We adhere to the conclusion of the first editorial, which read: "The future will pay dividends only to those who have invested in the future, and have followed consistent and principled positions." We greet the publication of the newspaper and wish our colleagues "Good Luck!"

Trade Workers Union Issues Declaration

AU0103143190 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Declaration of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Independent Trade Union of Workers in the Spheres of Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives, and Services"]

[Text] In recent months, the "Business" National Independent Trade Union Movement is developing a clear propaganda activity among certain professions such as cooks, confectioners, bakers, kitchen and hotel workers, barmen, waiters, managers, and economists, and in consumer-interest protection clubs. On the basis of the documents adopted by the constituent meeting, one could hardly decide what "Business" actually is—an economic association or an alliance with a trade union tendency. Reports appeared in the mass media about the political direction of "Business" and its affiliation with ERA-3 [expansion unknown], as well as about its demand to participate in the "roundtable" talks. On the basis of a rather appealing platform, "Business" will demand a change in the legal system, which hinders the personal and private initiative, and thus, "Business" attracts workers, specialists, and collectives, without offering any real guarantees of implementing its demands.

"Business" President Asen Chaushev utilized the specific proposals and actions of the Independent Trade Union of the Workers in the Spheres of Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives, and Services, related to the relevant leaderships of the ministries, the Council of Ministers, and the National Assembly, and misappropriated the results that have been achieved in resolving certain issues. Simultaneously, he misinforms the public about the repeal of certain legal documents, such as Decree No. 127 of the Council of Ministers of 1975, regulation No. 3 about accountability of the public nutrition establishments, regulation No. 3 on control, [identification of decrees as published] and so forth, something that still is being discussed, and there still is no final decision on the part of the relevant economic and state organs. One also puzzles about the false claims such as the one that the Trade Union of the Workers in the Spheres of Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives, and Services has 50 million leva, and thus "Business" should receive 25 million of them and distribute them among the organizations. According to its balance sheet, the Independent Trade Union of the Workers in the Spheres of Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives, and Services has 779,000 leva, which will be invested in the construction of a health-care center for the workers of our branches.

We adhere to consolidating the efforts of all organizations, unions, and movements of trade union character in quickly and comprehensively resolving the sharpest problems of the collectives and individual workers in the system of trade, tourism, cooperatives, services, and other affiliated activities on an honest and competent basis. We do not adhere to the opinion that the best road is the one of crude pressure, false information, and other radical measures that would have a negative impact both on the collectives and entire society. We have chosen the road of dialogue with the government and the ministries, through specific views and proposals, related to resolving the problems in the forthcoming days and months. Our collectives and trade union members merit a higher public assessment of their labor, responsibility, and contribution to servicing all working people in our country.

Havel Continues Diplomatic Effort in UK

Leaders Toast Bilateral Relationship

LD2203092990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel continues his official visit to Great Britain. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher hosted a gala dinner in his honor last night, at which both representatives proposed toasts.

The prime minister said that the struggle for human rights and civil liberties in East Europe has been waged only with exceptional courage and conviction. In this connection she recalled the sacrifice of Jan Palach and the exemplary principles of Vaclav Havel. Margaret Thatcher then also spoke about the great personalities of the Czech and Slovak nations connected by their activities with Britain. She also spoke about the skill and enterprising of Czechoslovaks who in the 1930's turned their country into a European industrial power, and expressed the hope that this situation would be renewed as soon as possible.

The Czechoslovak president in his toast expressed thanks for the invitation to Britain and welcomed the opportunity to be able to discuss the future arrangement of Europe with the British premier. He appreciated the grand bilateral [as heard] offers and stressed that Czechoslovakia sees this visit as an opportunity to follow up with the traditionally friendly relations between the two countries.

More on Havel-Thatcher Talks

LD2203144190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] We cannot talk about the culture of one part of Europe—it is much more correct to speak about European culture. Czechoslovakia wants to return purposefully into the unified current and it is opening to the world, but it is necessary, however, for the other half of Europe to open itself too. Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, said this in the British Institute of contemporary Art. This is only one of the ideas which are winning more and more support in Britain. Zdenek Vilimek, our permanent correspondent in London, is following the president's visit. We now offer you his report:

[Begin Vilimek recording in Czech] President Vaclav Havel met in the evening in the traditional residence of British prime ministers, 10 Downing Street, at a gala dinner given by the government in his honor again with Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher. They have the opportunity to continue the talks which they started in their first 90-minute conversation.

The president of the republic characterized these talks as an opportunity for him and Mrs. Thatcher to exchange views on future developments in Europe, and added that the Czechoslovak positions are close to the British. Margaret Thatcher expressed a view that the new democratic Czechoslovakia should rapidly develop its ties with the European Economic Community, and also stressed the need to solve all questions of security in Europe. Mrs. Thatcher also promised aid to Czechoslovakia in the form of a special fund intended for the development of science and education. It is specifically envisaged that British experts would help us to create and perfect the market economy, to set up a new system of local administrative organs, to develop new educational programmes for colleges and also to create a new independent police corps. [passage omitted] [end recording]

BBC Interviews Havel

PM2203121490 London BBC Television Network in English 2235 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by BBC foreign editor John Simpson on BBC 2 "Newsnight" program—recorded; in Czech with superimposed English translation]

[Excerpts] [Simpson] Today President Havel came to London. In his hotel this evening I asked him about the art of the impossible. Is it really possible to govern a country on the basis of personal morality?

[Havel] Whether it's possible or not, we shall see, but I personally know that it's not possible in any other way, because I know it's the only way out for our country and possibly the whole world. Whether it's possible or not, I cannot judge, but I believe it is.

[Simpson] But what does that mean in terms of the ordinary citizen and the president and the government? I mean, how do you behave on a relationship of ordinary morality towards the ordinary citizen?

[Havel] It's very simple: People have to get rid of personal ambitions, particularly now, before the elections. They have to learn to take the interest of the state into account, rather than of individual groups or parties. My experience is that those who had to be persuaded to take office in the government are usually those who are best at it now: It's not just a matter of principle but also a practical matter. I know that this society, which has been demoralized for 50 years, has only one way out, and that is through human decency, concern for each other. A higher level of approach to things is the most practical way out. Whatever problem I face in politics—economy or any other sphere—I keep running again and again into the same thing: a layer of totalitarianism in human minds, a subconscious habit to act out the worst aspects of human nature. What was awakened in our revolution—and was seen even before—was the expression of humanity and solidarity. Before that, when somebody was lying on the ground nobody was interested whether he was drunk or had suffered a heart attack: People just walked by without noticing. That is not the case any more. Something better has been awakened in people, but that is still not enough. People still have the old habits which were systematically built into the system by the old system, and one keeps running into it wherever one goes. I repeat again that my appeal to moral and higher considerations is not just the caprice of a poet or a philosopher who is sitting in a statesman's office, but it's a practical necessity. [passage omitted]

[Simpson] Czechoslovakia finds itself in a sea of uncertainty at the moment: To your west, you have Germany; to your East, you have the Soviet empire crumbling. Could we talk first about Germany: Do you think that, for instance, what happened on Sunday—the vote in the German Democratic Republic—is that... does that bode well for Czechoslovakia if it's clearly going to be a united Germany?

[Havel] I think we knew even before the elections that Germany would soon be reunited: We anticipated it. And, therefore from the beginning of this new era in our history we are not, and cannot be, concerned with only the million or so of our internal problems which have accumulated, but we have to take interest in the international context in which this is happening. That's why we have so many foreign visits and we present various initiatives, and so on: That is an existential necessity. Our whole country is in the process of changing very rapidly, as is its entire neighborhood and the whole of Europe. Apart from concerns for our internal matters, we have to be concerned with the international context, which is why we present various initiatives and talk to various important statesmen comparing views, presenting a certain harmonic timetable of steps which would lead to a new European arrangement.

[Simpson] And would that new European arrangement involve the Soviet Union in any way, or is the Soviet Union now out of the equation?

[Havel] I think that the map is right when it includes a part of the Soviet Union in Europe. I have always thought of Russians, Ukrainians, and the people of the Baltic states as Europeans. [passage omitted]

Havel Meets With Thatcher, Journalists

LD2203131890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, today continued his official visit of Great Britain. In the morning he had a working breakfast with the staff of the Czechoslovak section of the BBC. He then met Neil Kinnock, leader of the opposition Labor party, and later British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Journalists' interest, however, is being focused on the press conference, which is being held at this moment at the Czechoslovak Embassy, and about which we shall be reporting in our Studio Nine transmission.

President Vaclav Havel's visit has met with a great deal of interest in the British media. I have asked Jiri Vejvoda, our special correspondent in London, for details:

[Vejvoda, in Czech] Today's British press has been devoting a truly large amount of attention to the state visit to Britain of our president, Vaclav Havel. For instance, the GUARDIAN carries on its front page, a picture of the Czechoslovak president's meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Other papers, such as the INDEPENDENT, have been generous in giving space to various observations and analyses. Many observers have been interested in Vaclav Havel's reply to the question asked him during his visit to the Institute of Contemporary Arts, which was crammed with figures such as Thomas Stoppard, and the author Marianne Wiggins, wife of the ill-famed writer Salman Rushdie who is still in hiding. The question was: Can a writer who has become a president continue to be truthful? Havel replied: This I do not know as yet, but I can say that the moment I find that I cannot, I shall resign my present office.

Havel's trilogy, which they called the Vanek's one here, is currently performed in the Lyric Theater in the West End, and his work was praised last night even by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. In your plays, Mr. President, you have exposed the injustices of a totalitarian regime, she said, and added: We can only envy the richness of the language of your present speeches, full of urgency and vision.

Great Britain will support Czechoslovakia's efforts aimed at the country's closest possible integration with Western Europe, the British premier said. But local newspapers also noticed, without making any comment, that Margaret Thatcher, as she said, does not share Vaclav Havel's vision of the new security system in Europe, a Europe according to Havel where there would be no place for NATO, the Warsaw Pact and U.S. troops. The Helsinki process must surely be developed, but this does not mean that beside our own armed forces there is no need in Europe for the presence of U.S. military forces to guard security and stability in these times of change and uncertainty.

Havel Calls for Dissolution of Military Pacts

LD2203195190 Prague CTK in English 1737 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] London March 22 (CTK correspondent)—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia today called for the dissolution of military pacts, stating that "although NATO played its part, the situation in Europe changes rapidly and it is necessary to consider completely new solutions."

Addressing newsmen from the whole world at the Czechoslovak Embassy here on the second day of his visit to Britain, President Havel said on the unification of Germany that it is an inevitable process which has to take place under certain conditions, in the first place with the unchangeability of borders being guaranteed. "It is the task of Germans themselves to rid their neighbourhood of fears of new expansions", he said.

Asked about his attitude towards the question of Lithuania, Vaclav Havel said each nation has a right to self-determination and to choose its own fate, adding that problems around Lithuania must be settled from a long-term point of view and without bloodshed.

Asked how he enjoyed his post as president, Vaclav Havel said he took the task because others persuaded him to do so. "The moment will come, however, when I shall live in a less demanding way", he said.

Of his attitude to Indian-born writer Salman Rushdie, threatened with death by Iran for his book "The Satanic Verses", Vaclav Havel said he was interested in the case and found a sort of contact with the writer who is in hiding.

Replying to a question regarding the Czechoslovak-made plastic explosive Semtex, President Havel said Czechoslovakia is not the only country producing plastic explosives but if something is blown up somewhere Semtex is blamed. Although Semtex exports were stopped, there are still considerable reserves abroad since under the past Czechoslovak regime about 1,000 tonnes had been exported to Libya.

Asked whether Czechoslovakia intended to take an example from Britain's economic experiences and "Thatcherism", President Havel pointed out that it is necessary to learn everywhere. So long as a system is successful, it is good to know about it. "In Britain there are examples that we can exploit not only in the economic sphere but also in education, communications and other spheres," he said.

Of progress in talks on a special British foundation for technical consultative aid to Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel said this intention has just been born and its details are still being negotiated both in Prague and London.

General Feels Soviet Troops Eager To Leave

LD2203204890 Prague CTK in English 1858 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Army general said today he became convinced that Soviet soldiers want to leave Czechoslovakia without unnecessary conflicts and problems, they no longer have anything in common with the Brezhnev doctrine.

Major-General Svetozar Nadovic, the chief of the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry's administration in charge of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, told newsmen inter alia that the presence of Soviet troops cost Czechoslovakia a lot of money, adding that it is the task of the administration to find out the exact number. He called for public patience as the administration wants to make sure all figures are hundred per cent true, stating that it will not be a small sum by any means.

Asked whether Soviet data that there were 11,000 people living at Milovice in North Bohemia, where Soviet troops are stationed, were true, General Nadovic said "According to our experts' estimates there are about 30,000 people living there". He said also that at the talks of government envoys of the two countries the Soviet side promised to calm the situation around the Soviet staff centre. An order was issued, for instance, under which any Soviet soldier who breaks rules of coexistence with the local population will be immediately sent to the USSR.

Asked whether the administration can prevent illegal sales of weapons, cars or electric appliances, General Nadovic said that only one single case of arms sales was proved in the past six years. Further deals should be prevented by the Soviet Army's stricter records and by the fact that before departure all weapons are sealed and soldiers leave without them.

General Nadovic said that a total of 4,642 troops, 325 tanks, 332 vehicles, 1,335 trucks and 91 guns left Czechoslovak territory on 62 trains by this morning. Another train is to be loaded today.

Local Official Comments on Soviet Withdrawal

AU2203152990

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 March on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "From Libava Before the End of March," carries a 1,000-word interview with Josef Bezdek, chairman of the district national committee in Olomouc, by Miloslav Hradil. The subject of the interview is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the region and its consequences.

First of all, Hradil wants to know when the last Soviet soldier will depart from the Olomouc district. According to Bezdek, "They should withdraw from Libava before the end of March. It is envisaged that Soviet soldiers and their families will leave Olomouc and the surrounding district in April and May." He adds that, so far, the withdrawal is proceeding without any serious problems. The next question touches upon some people's concerns that, after the Soviet troops withdraw, only "wilderness" will remain of the once arable local pastures. Bezdek maintains that this is definitely not the case. He continues, "A commission established by a decision of the Czech Republic environment minister is now ascertaining specific ecological damage." According to the district national committee chairman, one of the major problems has always been how to deal with the waste produced by the Soviet Army: "In the past no one was too bothered with the problem of what to do with the waste produced by Soviet military units, so, Soviet soldiers dumped it, and continue to dump it, where they can."

Hradil asked about the alleged sale of Soviet Army weapons to the public in Libava. Bezdek replied that he had heard about this and added, "We informed the Sov n Olomouc about this. They told us that, as far as their units are concerned, measures have been taken which rule out the sale of weapons."

Another question concerns whether or not a garrison will remain in Olomouc. Bezdek thinks that Olomouc will continue to be a garrison town as "our Army is coming here— those units which, on the basis of the Vienna agreements, will be withdrawn from our western borders."

Finally, Hradil wants to know what will be done with the 1,500 apartments vacated by the Soviet Army. Some of them may be used to accommodate hospital employees or students from Palacky University. Some enterprises have also shown an interest in making use of them. However, according to Bezdek, it is not yet known how many apartments will be handed over to the civilian sector.

Sacher Holds Talks With U.S. Officials

LD2303110390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher has held talks in the United States with representatives of U.S. security organs. Jozef Knizat, our correspondent in Washington, reports:

[Knizat] Richard Sacher, Czechoslovak minister of interior, characterized these talks quite clearly—our foreign policy has been changed fundamentally and in the sphere of security services, too, we are transfering from suspicion and confrontation to mutual cooperation. Minister Sacher also held important talks at FBI headquarters. He told me about them:

[Begin Sacher recording] What were the main points which these talks focused on? Above all, that which both sides are interested in—that is, to prevent the spread of international terrorism, to prevent transit and illegal trading with drugs, to prevent the thefts of works of art, and such things. [end recording]

[Knizat] I shall add that Richard Sacher will today have a historic meeting with William Webster, CIA director. What will be the main points of this dialogue? Minister Sacher stressed: At CIA headquarters I will tell Mr Webster the same that I have said in Moscow to the KGB.

Commentary Analyzes GDR Election Results

AU2203131290 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Mar 90 p 5

[Josef Vesely commentary: "Now Everything Will Be Completely Different"]

[Text] "The German Democratic Republic will not exist in the future. It will be just a footnote in history books," lamented the writer Stefan Heym after the GDR election results had been declared.

The answer to the question why we have witnessed such a resounding victory for the conservative coalition Alliance for Germany, led by the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], is, obviously, as simple as the advice contained in a Harlequin romance. Recent opinion polls conducted in the GDR on the public's likes and dislikes as regards political personalities and polls conducted immediately prior to the elections revealed that people like Hans Modrow most of all; for a short time he had been entrusted by history to become a German Gorbachev. Lothar de Maiziere, the colorless CDU-GDR leader, was in third place behind Ibrahim Bohm of the SPD [Social Democratic Party].

On the other hand, citizens of the country where Helmut Kohl is chancellor rank him in sixth place in popularity among Bonn's leading lights. He won the GDR elections across the board for just the same reason that Annabel from the Harlequin romance does not marry handsome Cliff from the farm, but instead marries Reginald, the bespectacled and portly banker. The CDU logo, which millions of citizens from the first and last workers' and peasants' state on German soil freely and meticulously crossed off behind the curtains of the polling booths, belongs to the company that holds the keys to the Bundesbank's vault. This company has promised to give each family in the GDR a wad of notes as soon as possible, notes which are accepted with pleasure in shops everywhere; it has promised to take over bankrupt socialist "enterprises" and, for patriotic reasons, put them in order.

At the same time, a vote was cast for the definitive liquidation of a morally and physically ruined system whose aged hereditary leaders just a few months ago regarded perestroyka as an instrument of the devil. No one has managed to halt mass emigration.

An extremely important finding—apart from the collapse of the young SPD-GDR, which, of course, was founded only 150 days before the elections—is the complete shoving aside of the brave, honorable, and dauntless inspirers of the peaceful, popular revolution, the people who made free elections possible. They did not deserve this. They know this themselves and are very disappointed by the unconcealed decision of the majority of their people, mainly from Thuringian and Saxon southern GDR, to go as quickly as possible after better food, more fashionable clothes, faster cars, and even bananas and mandarins. However, it is possible that we are being a little hard on these people. Perhaps, they rashly elected a party that is closer to finding a way out only out of helplessness and fear for the future. Of course, democracy also means respecting the wishes of this majority, although in the background we can see the banker Reginald. Nevertheless, it seems that critical and free potential has survived in today's GDR and is now playing its role. This time it is playing its role in the pan-German context. The elections in Bavaria indicate that nothing is simple, even in the western part of Germany—the SPD is suddenly gaining strength in this bastion of conservatism. Of course, the true and original

SPD which, within the framework of a social market economy, has more than once demonstrated its competence.

The fact that the GDR will shortly cease to exist must be for us—the only neighbor of both German states—a matter for profound consideration. It will be necessary to keep a constant check on the promises that NATO will not expand east of the Elbe. We will not be alone in this. The 30 participants in the Helsinki process will gladly join the four victorious powers.

Meanwhile, our national economists should rummage around in the drawers to ascertain what the situation is in regard to the GDR's financial and economic commitments to Czechoslovakia. Bonn's economics ministry has indicated to us that the future potentate—West German capital—will not acknowledge the direct commitments of the GDR's socialist enterprises. If there is currency union before the summer, our tourists can say goodbye to the idea of a cheap holiday by the Baltic Sea. Tourists from the GDR will have an even greater time in our country with their new banknotes.

But these are only trifling matters that are completely overshadowed by the great historic turnaround to the north of the Erzgebirge Mountains, events which we witnessed on Sunday 18 March 1990. Soon, all of the consequences will be gauged.

ROK Minister Stresses Bilateral 'Interest'

Meets With Dienstbier

LD2103235690 Prague CTK in English 1353 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and visiting Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea Choe Ho-Chung started here discussions today.

They stressed bilateral interest in effective development of relations in economy, culture and education. The ministers agreed that it is necessary to start as quickly as possible discussions on agreements on the protection of investments, prevention of double taxation and on the possibilities for concluding an agreement on trade and economic cooperation.

The Korean minister asked Czechoslovakia for support for his country's request for admission to the United Nations. Czechoslovak representatives assured him that Czechoslovakia is for universalness of the U.N. membership and in its opinion all countries should be members of the organization, regardless of its political system.

The Czechoslovak and South Korean foreign ministers discussed also the prepared protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Korea.

Received by Foreign Trade Minister Barcak

LD2203000390 Prague CTK in English 1820 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak and South Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung today positively appreciated the development of the two countries' trade contacts last year and agreed that mutual cooperation is advantageous for both sides.

They appreciated the role of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the trade representation of the Korean Kotra Organization in support and establishment of trade contacts between the two countries' enterprises.

A scope for further cooperation and joint ventures is mainly in the spheres of investments in environmental protection, reconstruction of the Czechoslovak heavy industry, telecommunications and the car industry and in cooperation on third markets.

In the evening, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier will give a reception in honour of the South Korean guest.

Diplomatic Relations Established

LD2203120190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Korea established diplomatic relations today. The protocol was signed in Cernin Palace in Prague by both countries' foreign ministers, Jiri Dienstbier and Choe Ho-Chung, following the second round of their talks. At the end of the official visit by the Korean guest a press conference of both ministers took place.

Press Briefing With Dienstbier

LD2203155490 Prague CTK in English 1323 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—Diplomats will arrive in Prague very soon to prepare everything necessary for the realization of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Korea, South Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-Chung stressed at a press conference here today.

The Korean minister attended the press conference immediately after the signature of a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations with his Czechoslovak colleague Jiri Dienstbier.

Dealing with the unification of Germany, the Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed that this model could be used in Asia for the unification of Korea. The two Korean states are not members of the United Nations because North Korea claims that it would prevent the unification of the country. But both German states were

UN members and their membership did not prevent the unification, Jiri Dienstbier pointed out.

Choe Ho-Chung said that there has been no war between the two German states, while a fratricidal war took place in Korea in 1950-53. In his opinion the GDR have never considered the possibility of carrying out the unification under its control while North Korea maintains this idea permanently. Germany has always been an open society, both its parts have been maintaining a certain form of contacts, while North Korea is a completely isolated and close society, the foreign minister of the Republic of Korea underlined.

Answering the question of CTK how Czechoslovakia wants to support the admission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, Jiri Dienstbier stressed that the UN organization should be open for all states, regardless of their governments.

Later today the foreign minister of the Republic of Korea ended his official visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for home.

Palestinian Envoy Objects to UN Vote

AU2203172590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 90 p 13

[Interview with Samih 'Abd al-Fattah, Palestinian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, by Vaclav Bervida in Prague; date not given: "Concern About Immigration"]

[Excerpts] [Bervida] Arabs are troubled by Jewish emigration from the USSR to Israel. [passage omitted] Why is there such a flood of immigrants?

[Al-Fattah] Immigration of Jews from the USSR is taking place under the slogan of human rights but it contradicts them in reality. In the last 15 years the United States and other Western countries pressed the USSR to cease its restrictions on the emigration of its Jewish citizens. [passage omitted] We trust that the Czechoslovak decision on the Israeli proposal, regarding the use of Czechoslovak territory as a point of transit for Soviet Jews to Israel, will take into consideration its support of the national and human rights of the Palestinian people and that it will honor the international laws and agreements.

[Bervida] The Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories is now in its third year. How does it, according to you, influence the development in that area?

[Al-Fattah] [passage omitted] The Palestine Liberation Organization, owing to its realism and longing for peace, gained in status and prestige. It is paradoxical that Czechoslovakia abstained from the voting on the situation of Palestinian women under the conditions of occupation presented by the appropriate committee at the UN Economic and Social Council. The resolution was adopted by the 36th meeting of the committee held from 26 February to 9 March. Even Sweden and Austria voted for it and only the United States was against it.

Calfa Views Trends in Foreign Relations

PM2203092490 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 10 Mar 90 p 14

[Report on interview with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Rafael Paro; date not given: "The New Czechoslovakia Is Interested in Finland"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa will arrive in Finland for a two-day visit 15 March accompanied by a large delegation.

The fact that the prime minister's office has had great difficulty in arranging his diary of visits reflects the rest of the world's interest in Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovakia's interest in the rest of the world.

The Helsinki visit has had to be shortened by a day. Calfa was originally to have come 14 March. The same day that Calfa flies to Helsinki Prague will be receive a visit from West German President Richard von Weizsaecker. "The visit to Finland is no accident," Calfa said. "The cooperation between our two countries has been of high quality and it has been regulated by good agreements."

The Czechoslovak prime minister considers that the so-called Kevsos [expansion unknown] agreements which Finland reached with the "minor" CEMA countries have been exemplary compared with ties with the other developed industrial nations. Finland has been more favorably disposed toward Czechoslovakia than other market economies in Europe, Calfa pointed out. Even though the Kevsos agreements have been, and still are, appreciated in Czechoslovakia, sights have naturally been set on an even more open Europe in the future.

Calfa said that Finland's political system is attractive from Prague's viewpoint. Both Finland's administrative system and its party system are of interest.

"We are interested in cooperation in the environmental field, the wood processing and food processing industries, and architecture," Calfa said, stressing finally that what Finland has to show in the field of nuclear power safety and state energy systems is also of much interest. There are many areas in which we would like to have an exchange. In addition we would be pleased to provide information about what is happening in Czechoslovakia and about where we are going." Calfa said.

Asked about Czechoslovakia's international position today, Calfa pointed out that the country is a member of the Warsaw Pact and sees no reason to leave it. But Czechoslovakia proceeds from the point that both military blocs in Europe should be dissolved and that the problem of alliance membership would then resolve itself. "But as long as the pacts exist, there is no reason to envisage leaving the Warsaw pact," Calfa clarified.

"We are also members of CEMA. We recently put forward radical proposals for changes to the organization. Our starting point is that CEMA should continue to exist, but should not be a closed unit. On the contrary, CEMA should help its members to establish relations with other countries.

"Instead of going in for autarky, self-sufficiency, we should go in for a new openness. Our abnormal economic relations should become more natural. That is why we have also welcomed the Soviet Union's proposal that within CEMA we should go over to convertible currencies and apply world market prices."

Czechoslovakia has opted for an association agreement with the EEC, which has responded positively. An agreement is expected to be signed in April.

However, Prime Minister Calfa also noted that it is difficult for Czechoslovakia's present economic system to compete on an equal footing with the EEC and the European Free Trade Association, which is why Czechoslovakia now needs bilateral agreements.

In trade with the Soviet Union world market prices can be applied for all products other than natural gas and oil. Such large quantities—16.6 million tonnes of oil and 14 billion cubic meters of natural gas per year—are involved that the transition must be a gradual one.

Calfa said that Czechoslovak goods are in demand in the Soviet Union. The problem, however, is that the Soviet Union takes central action to close its markets to us. If the Soviet Union demands world market prices for oil and gas our counterdemand is that its markets must be open to us. The one is impossible without the other. Otherwise we would suffer enormous losses."

Marian Calfa stressed that the Czechoslovak stance is that if the Germans want unity, that is their business. He quoted Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, who has said that there is greater reason to fear a militant state, albeit small, than a state which might have 100 million inhabitants but which behaves democratically.

"We consider the present system in the FRG to be democratic. It is, however, interesting that it is precisely on our border with the GDR that we are hearing chauvinistic calls from across the border. We do not hear such calls from the other side of our border with the FRG," Calfa said. Unlike Poland, Czechoslovakia has not expressed a wish to take part in the negotiations which the victorious powers in World War II will hold with the two German states on unification.

"But we are of course very keen that all existing borders be recognized since, like Poland, we have a common border with Germany. An interesting detail is that hitherto the Germans have omitted to confirm unambiguously their eastern borders. We have heard German politicians express very varied views," Calfa noted. He also said that he has discussed with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow how trade between the GDR and Czechoslovakia will be affected by German unification. Unlike Calfa, Modrow does not expect any great changes. The new unified German state must observe its old commitments.

"Our experience of trade with the FRG is good. Our trade relations have been of higher quality and more solid than the links we have had with the so-called socialist countries. I expect that this feature of trade will repeat itself in links with the new unit that the two German states will form."

Despite the good links that Czechoslovakia has with Austria, relations are not entirely problem-free.

Because of the favorable rate of exchange, Austrians have been going to Czechoslovakia in large numbers to fill their gas tanks, eat well, travel on cheap public transport, and buy cheap food. This could not go on any longer, Prime Minister Calfa said. On March 5 an almost total export ban was introduced for all tourists. This is a problem which can only be resolved using economic means. Uncontrolled developments are forcing Czechoslovakia to raise its own prices, and then there is the threat of spiraling inflation in the country, Calfa said.

Marian Calfa is 43 and was born in Slovakia. He is a lawyer by profession. In 1972 Czechoslovakia's then prime minister, Lubomir Strougal, brought him into the legal department of the prime minister's office. In the government reshuffle in April 1988 he became a minister without portfolio responsible for dealing with coordination questions. In the October 1988 reshuffle when Ladislav Adamec became prime minister Calfa retained his post. After the mass demonstrations in November last year the Adamec government was reshuffled and Calfa became deputy prime minister.

The opposition kept up its pressure and Calfa became prime minister in the first Czechoslovak government since 1948 not to have a communist majority. Calfa himself has been a member of the Communist Party but left it in mid-January without giving any explanation. "That is my own affair," he said. Now he says that he could envisage being a candidate in the parliamentary elections in early June for one of the parties active within the framework of Civic Forum.

Calfa Reviews, Assesses First '100 Days'

LD2103233190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1900 GMT 19 Mar 90

["Open meeting" between Premier Marian Calfa and students, artists, teachers, trade union representatives, and other guests gathered to mark the first 100 days in office of the "Government of National Understanding" at the Intercontinental Hotel in Prague—live relay]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rubenik, in Czech] I am the youngest deputy in the Federal Assembly. I would like to ask you when you felt worst in those 100 days, if there was such a situation, that is?

[Calfa, in Slovak] Naturally, there has been such a situation—and not only once. I would say that the worst was the night after our talks with the student representatives. We met them in the Karolinum at night, Saturday to Sunday. We ended our talks at 0100, having talked for three hours and I could not sleep for two days as a result of the talks because, as I have said before, I suddenly realized there that we are witnessing an absolute rejection of the political system; an absolute rejection of that form of development which this state had been following; an absolute negation of the approaches of the political organs. Simply, this was such a depth of realization that it shakes one, naturally, because I had worked in the government apparatus, I saw things in a certain way and suddenly I realized that obviously I had seen them wrong. And when a person finds himself in this conflict, when he suddenly sees a certain emptiness instead of that in which he used to live, which used to fill his life, then this is a great conflict, a personal conflict. This is, in fact, a conflict with one's conscience. One starts asking questions himself, and then one cannot sleep or eat. One thinks all the time. One cannot get it out of one's head. This was a situation which I, naturally, only with difficulty, was coming to terms with. But I have to say that these talks helped me very much, above all in appointing the government, in expressing views, in assessing the situation.

Then the conflict started to ease somewhat, and a kind of a light started to appear from the emptiness. This was a situation which was not good but let me turn away from the serious point of view. Well, I can tell you that I lost weight—some seven kilos, and I suddenly felt lighter and more mobile and, so to speak, somewhat freer.

[Unidentified speaker from Trencin, in Slovak] As an economist who, I would say, can feel the decisions of the government on his own skin, I would like to say that the government is facing a whole number of difficult decisions. Naturally, such decisions require a certain symbiosis of views on the basic issues, so to speak. I would like to know if Mr. Premier can say—taking into account the circumstances in which the government was appointed—if, after the 100 days, he considers the present membership of the government fit to cope with the tasks.

[Calfa] This is a question on assessing the composition of the government. I have to say that exceptionally strong personalities have emerged in the government and it is always difficult to harmonize strong personalities, to create an orchestra which plays in tune and does not play out of tune. You know well that two ministers have been replaced and another minister has been included in the government. So certain problems did exist and it was necessary to solve them. I have to say that we have been lucky in the solution. I cannot, not even today, say that the government is a monolith. This would not be right. And as you have said, we do indeed face a number of very important decisions and I have to tell you that the exchange of views on how to change them is constant and sometimes it is very sharp indeed. But I see this as correct. If for 41 years the government did not argue properly about how to solve individual matters, it is arguing now, and why not. And after all, it is important for all this to lead to the the right decisions and they will indeed be important. We may talk about them later in our discussion. [passage omitted]

In about two or three weeks the government will discuss material which contains absolutely concrete steps set out in months, for the first six months, the next six months, and for the next year. I must say that there is a certain concept about these steps and the discussion in the government is concerned with which steps to select at which time so that it is a comprehensive system, so that we do not make isolated decisions. So, for example, it works out that probably in May, prices for all types of mass transport will be adjusted. Why? Because up to now freight transport was subsidizing passenger transport. The volume of freight transport is being reduced. The transportation of coal and so on is falling, it is simply falling, and it is a good thing, but the income is also falling. If our starting point is the overall conception of removing subsidies, if we do not want to make up the difference from the state budget, we must look for sources to pay for passenger transport. Passenger transport is working on the basis of 1945 tarrifs. It is cheap. I do not want to make comparisons because such comparisons are always very bad but it appears that if we do not want to start with subsidies there is no other way but to do something with the passenger transport tarriffs. The same applies to state housing, the same applies to some kinds of food, and here there are certain connections with price developments in neighboring countries. The same applies to the prices of all forms of energy.

Naturally, however, it is not possible to promulgate this as a single step because it must be supplemented by compensation. It must be supplemented with other measures not only in the social or in the production sphere, in services, and so on. And putting all this together so that we do not make the same mistakes we have been making up to now, that we simply let loose measures and then had to suffer the consequences and then tried to make it up again with various administrative methods—well, this is not possible in the economic model which we are preparing.

So, in about two or three weeks these things should be discussed by the government. I have no doubt that they will be controversial. I have no doubt that when the government makes up its mind it will have to discuss it with the whole system of our trade union organs. I have no doubt that we will have to publish it, and I have no doubt that we will have to put it to our representative bodies so that it can be evaluated, because these are exceptionally important steps, with exceptionally important consequences. [passage omitted: question by unidentified female speaker from North Moravia about local issues and problems in Ostrava to which she invites Calfa]

[Calfa] I have to say that we do not yet have an idea about how to solve problems of individual regions. We simply have not physically managed to do so. So far we have an idea of how to solve the situation in the whole state. We have a certain idea of how to solve problems in some spheres which will then influence the situation in the regions—for example, the ecology in the North Bohemian region, and so on. So take it as I am saying it: We have only had 100 days.

I am going to the North Moravian region on Friday. I am going to see the situation in the coke batteries and in Stonava [site of the coking plant Poland wants abolished] and at the same time I would like to see what the situation is like in the vocational training. There is one problem bigger for next week. I do not want to go into any details here now. This would fill a whole bulletin. [passage omitted: unidentified questioner asks about Calfa's views on the mass media]

[Calfa] I will answer you with a question. Why do you think that we feel a need to found our own newspaper? Because we are unhappy about the other newspapers. This is one thing.

Second, I really think that in the field of mass media the situation is not good and there is no order there. I do not think that there should be the order to which we were accustomed—that the Czechoslovak Press Agency issued something and all the newspapers copied it. Nevertheless, it is not only the government but also other state bodies which came to feel one thing: that the newspapers simply publish things according to their own judgment."

I will give you an example: I met trade unionists and presented certain standpoints which I considered to be most important because it was the government's stance on social demands. It was in substance a warning that the government cannot meet those social demands because it simply does not have enough money to do so. In order to meet some demands somewhere, it has to take from elsewhere and we have to say it: We took it from here to put it there. And then I read in newspapers what I allegedly said. I have to say that it frightened me horribly then, and in that moment I began to think that we needed our own newspapers.

We will found them. I do not wish to offend newspapers and possibly it is not good that I am saying it, that it is not accurate, but I have a feeling that some of them have a touch of [word indistinct] and democracy is not theater, it is a serious matter. This issue could be discussed extensively.

As far as the situation in other mass media is concerned, a number of personnel changes were made there in order to ensure a certain concept of their running and I do not have any reason to doubt that we succeeded in it.

[Kucera, in Czech] My name is Kucera and I am the dean of the Hus Theology Faculty. I would like to ask a group of questions concerning ethics in our public life. [passage omitted] Mr premier, I would like to ask you what further legislative measures in the field of human rights the government is preparing and what other steps it intends to take to make our public life healthier and more ethical?

[Calfa] For instance, next week the government is going to discuss the whole complex of amendments to the criminal code. We will purge it of those crimes which gave an opportunity to persecute people, as has happened.

In some way we have to tackle the question of capital punishment, though it is not as simple a matter as might seem because very different views exist on this issue. Nevertheless, the government will propose to the Federal Assembly to abolish this punishment. There are some alternative views here because there is a need to complete the criminal code laws with some different types of punishment as a substitute for this.

We have begun to study very carefully all the international agreements which ensure the standards of all these laws. Whenever we make any decision we strive to improve our legal code a bit.

Understandably, these are just details. The legal system is simply as it is. It has been formed in a certain way. It consists of about 600 laws and 5,400 regulations—it simply consists of 6,000 legal regulations. I do not say that all of them regulate human rights but many of them regulate the relationship between an individual and the state, relationships between people, relationships between an individual and various institutions in the field of the economy—the civil code. I think that all these things have to be amended in a certain way and these issues are currently being discussed. And I do not mention the whole complex of political laws which the government put forward and which the parliament is going to discuss at its session during the next two months. [passage omitted]

[Kansky, in Czech] Alois Kansky, KATOLICKY TYDENIK, Prague. [passage omitted] Mr. Premier, what would you say to those who still do not believe that the process of democratization in our country is irreversible, and what would you say to those who are afraid of those who do not believe that the process of democratization in our country is irreversible.

[Calfa] Well, we are simply working every day, morning until night. We are really trying to do it with the best intentions. We have goals. Every generation did not have the opportunity to have such a goal and the opportunity to truly fulfill it. It is a great opportunity. We will try to give the greatest possible information about our work, about our goals. After all, each of our decisions is open to the public, we are not hiding anything. It concerns our people. I would not try to convince anyone other than to say that we will continue our work with the same methods, the same involvement, the same tempo, because if anyone wants to be convinced then we will convince him only with that, not with words, not with any leading articles, not with any rhetoric. And if someone does not want to be convinced, even by these deeds, well there is no way of convincing them. But I personally think that there are very few such people, and that they are not worth any kind of effort other than the calm work which we intend to do. And if some people are afraid of others, or of each other, this cannot be avoided. Society is exceptionally structured. We have not spoken about many things here and there would be plenty to speak about. There are structures in existence which are still not unraveled 100 percent even though this is being worked on intensively.

I have a life credo—I am an absolute optimist about these things. If I was not an optimist then I could simply not do this. I am convinced that we will succeed.

[Announcer, in Czech] Mr. Premier, we all wish you much success. We thank you for your words, and thank you all for accepting our invitation. Goodbye. [applause]

Vacek Guarantees Army Will Not Be Misused

AU2203113890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 90 p 2

[Unatributted report: "The Army Will Not Be Misused"]

[Text] In his speech [in the Federal Assembly on 14 March Defense Minister], M. Vacek reacted to some remarks related to the activity of the army, including a contribution by Deputy Kulan who quoted from a SVOBODNE SLOVO article of 27 February of this year that the Czechoslovak People's Army failed in 1968 because it had been paralyzed at Soviet generals' orders.

"The Czechoslovak Army has been accused here," M. Vacek said. "I do not know whether Deputy Kulan, through all his rights as a deputy, realizes that not so long ago we heard the declaration of the federal government, in which the activity of the army had been appreciated. I believe that if Mr. Premier Calfa "lowers himself" to appreciate the army—and he had many positive things to say about it—then I do not see why Deputy Kulan should have the right to cast doubts on the words of the premier. It is probable that if he [Kulan] was present [in parliament] he would vote in favor of this declaration. Or could it be that during the last two weeks the situation has radically changed for the worse." M. Vacek further said that Deputy Kulan had not presented his own ideas but that he had read a particular document, a thoroughly elaborated one, whose authors were reacting with a great deal of nervousness to many issues, probably because disrupting life in the army is not as successful as it was in another period. "I guarantee that the Czechoslovak Army will not be misused against the democratization process. I have said this in parliament before," M. Vacek stressed.

"It has not been proved that any [Czechoslovak] military officials participated in the entry of the [Warsaw Pact] armies [in 1968]. What happened later, during the so-called consolidation, is a different question. But the entry itself did not happen due to the fact that the activity of the army was paralyzed. I am again raising the question of what was more reasonable then—to obey the president of the republic, Svoboda, or to proceed according to your prescription of today.

"You have forgotten to read one thing from your document: That honest and upright people, officers of our army who prevented our army from being misused, are denied their merit. In another part of the document it is said that officers were not able to go against the mass of politically committed conscripts. I am taking the liberty to cast some doubt on this fact. The reality was in fact different and I am personally thankful to all the career soldiers—soldiers whose role is being doubted by many who are not familiar with the complexity of the problem—that matters turned out exactly the way they did."

In the last part of his speech he addressed the deputies: "You can repeat that only RUDE PRAVO and OBRANA LIDU are being read [in army barracks]. I beg you to verify whether soldiers want to subscribe to any paper at all and then you may criticize us for that! Of course, everything is a question of education. We are not having the success everywhere we would like to have.

"I would like to ask the defense and security committees to examine some questions. I am willing to render account for my action and I know that I have this duty as a federal minister not only before these committees but also before you."

Commentaries Warn Against 'Kosovo' in Slovakia

AU2203122790

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 9 March devotes its page 3 to the "wave of extremist attitudes" spreading among Hungarians and Slovaks in the southern parts of Slovakia. The feature, which is reportedly carried also by NAP, the Hungarian-language journal of the Hungarian Independent Initiative, is published under the headline "We Share the Same Cause." As VEREJNOST notes in its introductory remarks, the purpose of the feature's publication is to "contribute to a consolidation of the social situation" in southern Slovakia and to "convince the general public to act in the interest of mutual understanding and tolerance."

The feature itself consists of contributions by Hungarian and Slovak journalists, in which they criticize the "extremist attitudes" of members of their own nationality. One of them is a 350-word commentary by Laszlo Gyurovszky, editor of NAP, entitled "Demands or Dialogue?" The commentary reads:

"The irresponsibility of those Hungarian deputies, and the 'cultural' association which supports them, who are driving the Hungarian and Slovak inhabitants of southern Slovakia toward a new Kosovo is startling! Indeed, they have absolutely no sense of responsibility, for which no sporadically appearing and dramatic call for peace can make up! Slovaks are afraid of Hungarian demands for revision [of the borders], Hungarians are afraid of Slovak nationalistic attitudes and this has gone so far that, I am sorry to have to say this, both sides are even afraid of pogroms. The first fight, the first drop of blood will stir up emotions that can only lead to a new Nagorno-Karabakh! Mutual fear needs to be removed and not even encouraged! The so-called 'Hungarian' demands, most of the petitions and contributions to the debate, have achieved something which we did not want.

"Whether anyone likes it or not, the problems have to be tackled together with the Slovak nation. He who wants to gain political capital from the minority's complexes and its sense of martyrdom takes upon himself enormous responsibility. He will be responsible when Slovak democratic forces are no longer able to curb Slovak nationalism and Hungarian democrats Hungarian nationalism. And that could turn out to be tragic for democracy and for our own physical being! It is no coincidence that both groups of nationalists use the former and present day communist press to put across their views. But they do not use the communist press alone.

"Slovak and Hungarian groups that reject dialogue clearly confirm their shortsightedness. Both Hungarians and Slovaks should know, however, that even if the success of the forces which whip up nationalistic emotions will be only ephemeral, the chances of democracy in Czechoslovakia (and, hence, also those of the Hungarian minority here) will be wasted."

The same feature also includes a 1,000-word article by Milan Simecka, entitled "Slovak Language in Surany," in which the author describes his impressions from a rally of about 300 Slovaks in Surany, a small town located in the Hungarian-dominated part of southern Slovakia. The undated rally, which was organized by the "Association for Slovaks' National Revival," was held under the slogan "For the Consistent Sovereignty of Slovakia (in the CSSR)" and speakers reportedly protested against the "limitation of the sovereignty of the Slovak National Council and the government in southern Slovakia," against the "Magyarization" of street names, against the under representation of Slovaks in legislative bodies, etc. In his article, Simecka stresses how uneasy he felt in the face of the "enthusiastic applause" accorded to speakers who criticized Hungarians. He also mentions that slogans such as "Shame on Magyars!" or "Death to Irredentists!" were shouted at the rally.

Public Opinion on Czech-Slovak Relations Surveyed

AU2203144990 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Mar 90 p 2

["kjk"-signed report: "A Look in the Mirror"]

[Text] For an introduction, allow me to conduct a fast mini-poll of your view regarding this subject: Do you think that the relations between both brotherly nations were in the past 20 years based on preferential treatment of Czechs at the expense of Slovaks or vice versa? —No, do not answer... Results of an opinion poll, taken by the Prague Institute for Public Opinion Research, are available. According to the poll, in the first instance, four percent of Czech nationals believe that Slovaks were given an advantage; naturally 71 percent Slovaks believe that it is not so; unfortunately, conversely, the ratio is practically identical—68 percent Slovaks think that in the past mutual relations were based on preferential treatment of Czechs (one percent of Czechs do not think so).... [figures as published] Hence, there is nothing new under the sun; ordinary citizens of both components of the federation believe in their own "truth." And as far as the politicians are concerned? They should probably take to heart another find, namely, that almost one-half of citizens think that the relationship between the two nations is truly friendly. They must, however, in dealing with all affairs of both republics, take into consideration the fact that over one-fifth of the population believe that indifference exists between Czechs and Slovaks, and almost a third do not think the relations are friendly.

Federal Government Abolishes Death Penalty

LD2203202690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Although a press priefing began after 1600, today's federal government session was still in progress at that time. Nevertheless we were told the most important news, which is that an amendment to the penal code abolishing the death penalty was passed by majority vote. The bill will be put to the Federal Assembly for discussion. This exceptional sentence will be replaced by the life sentence which will be imposed for high treason, terrorism, murder, causing a general danger if this results in premeditated death, and genocide. We were told that in the last 22 years, 53 death sentences have been handed down in our country, and 46 have been carried out, all of them for murder.

Other changes are also to be made in the penal code, for example, theft of socialist property is to be replaced by the crime of theft. Greater emphasis will be placed on fines, up to the sum of one million korunas with the possibility of paying by instalments. [passage omitted]

[Begin Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus recording] From letters which the Ministry of Finance and, I believe, Czechoslovak Television is receiving, it is clear that the Czechoslovak public is very interested in the problem of exchange rates. Some people think that the rates are bad, unjust, disadvantageous, so I think it appropriate to say one or two words about this. [passage omitted explaining what exchange rates are, how they operate, and how they are set]

Some members of the public are complaining about the exchange rates with the countries of the Eastern bloc. On this I can say that the problem here is that the exchange rates are unfavorable, that there is greater interest in our currency in those countries than our interest in their currencies, and it is clear that we must alter these exchange rates. However, I wish to declare that we are not authorized to do this. We have signed multilateral agreements with CEMA that we will all jointly discuss exchange rates. In other words, we have no right to do this ourselves.

Now I can announce some very positive news: Today the federal government decided to cancel these agreements on exchange rates with the CEMA countries. This means that today or, I should say, tomorrow, we are sending the CEMA Secretariat notification from Czechoslovakia that it is withdrawing from these agreements, and it is the first country to do this, and once the mandatory three-month period has elapsed, we will be able to alter these rates in a way which suits Czechoslovakia better. [end recording]

Brno Civic Forum Splits; Cibulka Heads Movement

LD2103234790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Petr Cibulka has become an independent candidate for the town of Brno in the Movement for Civic Liberty, which split off from Civic Forum because the movement is undemocratic, it was announced today at a demonstation at Brno's Liberty Square. Speakers also joined in the appeal by the Civic Forum of the Prague semiconductor plant of the ceskomoravska-kolben-danek national enterprise, which demands that the Czechoslovak Communist Party hand over its property to the state by the end of March and that it should be left with only those means held, on average, by other political parties. If this does not happen, it will go on a general warning strike on 11 April. The speakers also discussed the alleged existence of censorship and demanded publicity for the group of people around the press and information center in Brno's Mecova Street, which continues to be headed by Petr Cibulka. There also was talk of Moravianship [moravanstvi]. On this subject, Petr Kucera said: We are the inhabitants of Moravia and not of Czecho or some kind of hyphen. We demand that the state be called the Czechoslovak Republic [Ceskoslovenska republika]. The state emblem should have the Moravian eagle in the middle.

CPCZ's Mohorita Holds Talks in Poland

LD2103045190 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, member of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia Vasil Mohorita paid a visit to Warsaw at an invitation from the leadership of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, SDRP.

During the visit the Czechoslovak guest held talks with SDRP Chairman Aleksandr Kwasniewski and SDRP General Secretary Leszek Miller.

The sides reviewed the current social and political situation in Poland and in Czechoslovakia and exchanged opinions on the most important international issues.

Vasil Mohorita was also received today by deputy speaker of the Sejm, Chairman of the Initiative Group of the Union of Social Democracy of the republic of Poland, USDRP, Tadeusz Fiszbach and by chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club Bronislaw Geremek.

Provision Allowing Misuse of Psychiatry Abolished

AU2303103890

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 17 March on page 1 carries an 800-word article by Jan Subrt entitled "Misuse of Psychiatry." The article discusses the conclusions of a recent inquiry carried out by the "Independent Investigating Commission" into cases of "political misuse of psychiatry" in Czechoslovakia.

According to the commission's findings, it was primarily Pavilion No. 17 in the psychiatric hospital in Prague-Bohnice which had "often been misused for political aims." This was made possible by the circumstance that "this pavilion was a facility of the Ministry of Justice [rather than a facility of the ministry of health] and hence a suitable object for the Ministry of the Interior." According to testimonies by psychiatrists working in this pavilion, they often received "orders" to accept "inconvenient citizens" as patients. This practice reportedly became "widespread in the last couple of years, especially on the occasion of all kinds of 'dangerous' anniversaries." The last such case was reportedly registered as recently as December 1989 when a secret policemen in Hradec Kralove was officially branded as "paranoid" after an attempt to give testimony on "what he knew about goings-on in the Hradec Kralove region." Subrt's article also includes a statement by Karel Dusek, scientific secretary of the Psychiatric Society, in which he states that "on 15 December 1989 the Ministry of Health abolished the so-called preventive hospitalizations, which—on the basis of an agreement between the interior and health ministers and according to the Soviet model—could be misused to restrict civil rights."

Socialist Party Preparing for Elections

LD2103184990 Prague CTK in English 1010 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—In the forthcoming parliamentary elections the Czechoslovak Socialist Party can become a significant political force able to defend itself against totalitarian tendencies, new chairman of the party Jiri Vyvadil, 36, said in his interview to the party daily SVOBODNE SLOVO.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party wants to concentrate in today's polarized society on those voters who in no case want to vote for the communists but fear, on the other side, that Czechoslovakia is heading towards another totalitarianism.

The Socialist Party has some 20,000 members at present. It wants to strive for social certainties which will be jeopardized in the transfer to market economy, Jiri Vyvadil said, and stressed that in his opinion the measures of the government taken in this sphere are quite insufficient. The jeopardy of these certanties has been caused by the Communist Party and therefore it has no right to point to such shortcomings. Despite this certain groups of the conservative population will vote for the communists most probably, he said.

New Measures Affecting Foreigners' Purchases

AU2203114890 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

["trg"-signed report: "Gasoline for Coupons!"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At a news conference held in Prague yesterday, CSSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Miroslav Cuker and General Director of Customs Administration Jiri Broz informed journalists about the results of measures adopted by the federal government in the last few days to curb the negative effect of foreign travel. The first results indicate, according to them, that the situation, particularly at the border crossings to Austria, has improved. At present, the federal government is considering further changes in foreign travel. Any decision in this respect, however, probably will not be taken until next week following completion of a thorough analysis of the effect these measures would have.

In order to prevent speculation and hoarding of fuel (the situation here was unbearable) the sale of fuel for coupons will probably be introduced for all users (including residents of Czechoslovakia), no later than mid-April. [passage omitted] Foreigners would purchase these coupons at exchange bureaus, but the distribution is still on the drawing board. The price for Czechoslovak citizens, however, will remain the same as today. For others, the price will be set at the level of foreign prices so the purchase in Czechoslovakia will not be more advantageous than in other countries. Concerns regarding rationing of gasoline are unwarranted. [passage omitted]

Other measures are being considered depending on the analysis of the internal market situation;for instance, reintroducing the visa duty for transit through Czechoslovak territory, compulsory exchange of funds for foreigners, and introducing the payment in our hotels not directly by "hard currency" but by check purchased by foreigners in exchange bureaus for korunas. An extension of and more flexibility in currency exchange at the border crossings are also under consideration.

Trade Details Dispute Castro 'Trash' Claim

AU2203145390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 90 p 14

[Vera Posledni report: "What is the Truth?"]

[Text] Havana (from our correspondent)— Many of us were surprised by the allegations regarding economic cooperation, including cooperation with Czechoslovakia, made by the highest Cuban representative, Fidel Castro, in his speech at the congress of the Cuban Women's Federation.

The information available to Czechoslovak experts in Cuba does not at all confirm that portion of the speech in which Fidel Castro claims that Czechoslovakia supplies Cuba with "trash." Czechoslovakia holds the fourth place in trade with Cuba following the USSR, GDR, and China. Some 60 percent of our exports to Cuba are engineering products. These include, for instance, sugar manufacturing equipment and spare parts, trucks, rolled steel, truck tires, hops, malt, and consumer goods. Czechoslovakia has built numerous industrial plants in Cuba.

We import from Cuba, among other things, sugar, nickel, copper concentrate, citrus fruit and products, and sugar cane molasses; construction work in Czechoslovakia performed by Cubans also is a part of the trade.

Castro spoke very critically about the quality of Czechoslovak transmissions mounted in Hungarian-made Ikarus buses in Cuba. It must be noted, however, that no complaints were ever received from the Cuban side regarding these transmissions. While in Czechoslovakia a bus equipped with this transmission, properly maintained, with suitable oil, and properly used, will average 150,000 km; it is only about 30,000 km in Cuba. This is despite the instructions provided repeatedly by Czechoslovak experts to Cuban technicians and repairmen. The same bus with the Czechoslovak transmission, under the supervision of these experts, reached about 200,000 km.

The Czechoslovak malt supplies which, according to Castro, were not provided "because of drought," are tied to the supplies of Cuban sugar to Czechoslovakia which, thus far, have not been fulfilled. A contract was signed for 3,000 tonnes of the 35,000 agreed upon originally.

If the reference to bad costume jewelry paid for with food also pertained to Czechoslovakia, it must be said that the Cuban side itself requested this jewelry, and the demand far exceeds Czechoslovak potential. Moreover, this costume jewelry does not even appear in the open Cuban market.

Election Commission's Final Election Results

LD2303105590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0909 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Election Commission, in line with the protocols made available to it by the constituency election commissions on the results of the election in the individual constituencies of the People's Chamber, has established that the election was carried out in an orderly manner. It announces in line with (?section) 37, Paragraph 1 of the Election Law:

The election to the GDR People's Chamber was carried out in an orderly manner. The following final result was established:

	Final overall result for the GDR	
Entitled to vote	12,426,443	
Votes cast	11,604,418	
Valid cast	11,541,155	
Invalid votes	63,263	
	of the valid votes the following are alloted to the list:	
Party	Number of votes	seats
1 Action Alliance United Left (The Carnations, United Left)	(20,342)	1
2 Alternative Youth List (German Youth Party, Marxist Youth Association, Green Youth, Free German Youth)	(14,616)	0
3 Alliance '90 (New Forum, Democracy Now, Peace and Human Rights Initiative)	(336,074)	12
4 League of Free Democrats (German Forum Party, Liberal Democratic Party, Free Democratic Party)	(608,935)	21
5 Federation of Socialist Workers	(386)	0
6 Christian Democratic Union	(4,710,598)	163
7 Christian League	(10,691)	0
8 Democratic Farmers' Party	(251,226)	9
9 Democratic Awakening	(106,146)	4
10 Democratic Women's League	(38,192)	1
11 German Beer Drinkers' Union	(2,534)	0
12 German Social Union	(727,730)	25
13 Unity Now	(2,396)	0
14 European Federalist Party	(3,636)	0
15 European Union of the GDR	-	0
16 Greens (Green Party and Independent Women's Union)	(226,932)	8
17 KPD (Communist Party)	(8,819)	0
18 National Democratic Party of Germany	(44,292)	2
19 Party of Democratic Socialism	(1,892,381)	66
20 Social Democratic Party of Germany	(2,525,534)	88
21 Spartacist Workers' Party	(2,417)	0
22 Indpendent Social Democratic Party	(3,891)	0
23 Independent People's Party	(3,007)	0
24 Association of Working Circles for Employees and Democracy	(380)	0

Newspaper Commentaries View Election Results

DER MORGEN Commentary

AU2203121990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 20 Mar 90 p 1

[Manfred Brendel commentary: "The Day After"]

[Text] The heroes were dead tired. Finally, the extremely dedicated election campaigners of all colors could at least sleep a bit. If some of them woke up with a hangover, this need not be attributed to particularly strong cocktails at the election party. Some people got sick because of the unexpectedly low preliminary election results.

Everyone has to live with his figures. Those who do not see their expectations fulfilled would be well advised to first of all asked themselves why their election campaign promises did not meet with the response. This hour of intensive thought is necessary. It is important not only because the same voters will be called to the ballots by the same parties in only seven weeks time. It is important so that the newly acquired legitimation of the parliament and the government becomes politically viable—regardless of the duration.

The politicians are obligated to the citizens. What was promised in striking election campaign slogans must now be fulfilled and kept by specific political actions. There is more at stake than the credibility of a given party and, in particular, of the victorious party. The value of the truly historic, first free ballot in the GDR is at stake. If the voters were to see their will, which they documented in the form of the results, disappointed, the entire peaceful revolution for true democracy since autumn 1989 would be called into question very soon; new frustration might let the disappointed hopes sink into resignation or cause enormous, perhaps also violent, conflicts in the streets.

Already on the day after yesterday's election, victory is proving to be a heavy burden. One party or even the alliance of the three alone will not be able to carry it. This explains the thoughts about possible coalitions that began on the evening of election day. The issue is not simply a majority that is able to govern. Those who spoke of as grand a coalition as possible, were obviously aware that on Sunday [18 March] the voters did not simply vote for this or that party, but in particular for the hope to have their wishes for the future—even though they have rather emotional, instead of completely rational reasons—fulfilled.

The day after, the issue is in particular the everyday concerns of the people in our country, which could not be eliminated by vote. Percentage points in elections are something completely different from percentage points in economic development. The will for German unity has been clearly expressed; the feasible path toward this, which eliminates all still existing differences in a new quality of political, economic, and social togetherness, is far less clear than the vote for this goal. A united Germany in the European home is the intention of the majority. The necessary agreement with all neighbors is still to be achieved.

The elections on Sunday answered many questions of the past weeks. On the day after we are facing new question marks.

NEUE ZEIT Editorial

AU2203103690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 20 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Magdalene Geisler editorial: "Mandate for Solidity"]

[Text] Yes, it was a sensation—also for those who had high hopes for the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] and the "Alliance" as a whole; this result was extremely surprising. The CDU, which yesterday still was in the permanent crossfire of the media, which are still dominated by the left and had developed—not without pain—out of a difficult process of change and renewal, has managed to become the strongest force in this country. How was this possible? I think that this is the result of the CDU saying clearly, precisely, and without convoluted discussions what it wants: unity—without haste but also without scrupulous hesitation. This was precisely what the majority of the voters obviously wanted too: a clear situation; no lamentation about values in this country which "go down the drain"; no sentimentality about a loss of identity, as if identity only depended on the state in which one lives; no "new horizons," which are again developed in the forum of experiments on living human beings. The CDU did this in surroundings—also in terms of the mass media—that tried to give the impression that the GDR is being colonized, that its inhabitants will be driven in pairs to some place—I do not know where—and that the country will be opened to the cultivation of the cabbage [reference to Chancellor Kohl, whose name means "cabbage" in German]. Despite all the panic, the CDU stuck to the political realities, and these were: Masses of people continue to leave the country to which they should be linked by such intensive identity; they need a clear alternative, and this alternative is: economic and monetary union, growing together into one whole—with reason and a sense of perspective.

The reactions to the election results, in particular from the direction of those forces that had expected more for themselves, are naturally disappointed; explanations are being sought. Thus, Steffen Reiche, spokesman of the Social Democratic Party, said, for instance: The GDR citizens have decided in favor of the FRG Government. It is certainly true that—and this is also proved by foreign press comments—the election victory of the "Alliance" with the CDU as its strongest force is also a success for Helmut Kohl. This is one side. The other side, however, is that this victory would not have been possible without the solidity of party chairman Lothar de Maiziere, who—always striving for respectability and doing his duty in a responsible way—managed to get through, as one could almost say, the election campaign, because, after all, loud statements are not and will not be his way. There are more people in our country than one thinks who do not watch the noisy riot but the more thoughtful remarks on the situation; and the winner Lothar de Maiziere did not seem triumphant but thoughtful. He and the entire party are faced with loads of responsibility. It is necessary to fulfill high expectations, and in the election campaign the CDU did not keep quiet about the problems.

Now it is necessary to look for a democratic consensus with those forces that feel seriously responsible for the future of our country, even though they might have hoped to rally a bigger majority behind them. Reason and a sense of perspective—demands, which have often been made recently—are necessary.

In conclusion: Which feelings were predominant among the CDU campaigners at the grass-roots, the simple members of our party? There are many among them who have long worked for their community out of Christian responsibility and have received nothing in return except condescending pats on the shoulder by some comrades or suspicious observation by other "comrades." For all of us it is satisfying to see that the traditions of a Christian image of man and a solid and substantial policy of the center can have a chance in this country. This results in great responsibility for every single party member, because the "C" in our name remains the motivation for a policy that must dedicate itself to the common good, must recognize the realities, and must react to them in a way that corresponds to humanistic traditions. In this spirit, our party is not without a vision and a program. It will have to contribute them to the upcoming process, which may bring more individual responsibility but also more opportunities for everyone, if they are used.

BERLINER ALLGEMEINE Commentary

AU2203104690 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Mar 90 p 2

[Klaus Baschleben commentary: "Vote for the Deutsche Mark"]

[Text] The citizen has decided. Almost one out of every two voted for the conservative alliance of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], the German Social Union, and Democratic Awakening. The strongest political force in this alliance is the CDU. However, no political observer of the GDR scene over the past months will seriously claim that Lothar de Maiziere's turned-around East CDU really is the winner of the elections. Driven by the short-sighted desire for quick prosperity a la FRG, about half of all voters voted for Helmut Kohl and Theo Waigel, because the chancellor and his finance minister are considered by many people to be the great saviors with Deutsche marks. Thus, we will have to grow accustomed to having GDR policy made already now in the chancellor's office in Bonn until the now unavoidable quick absorption of our state by the FRG.

Ibrahim Boehme's Social Democratic Party has a not inconsiderable share in this. After the initial high in the voters' favor, by the end of the election campaign it had not shown any clear political contours and convincing programmatic statements. This was linked with too much self-assurance, and thus the party turned out to be the big loser of the elections. The liberal alliance certainly also expected a higher share of the votes. However, with about five percent, an independent liberal policy will be difficult to enforce in the future. The only thing that remains is the dubious role of the procurer of a majority for the Alliance.

The actual tragedy of this election is the fact that the hopeful political forces from the Alliance 90 to the Greens, which started the peaceful revolution last autumn and brought about the political change, met with such a low echo by the voters on election day. Stefan Heym aptly summarized this in a brief phrase, saying that those who wanted a better GDR carried out the revolution but that those who do not want a GDR at all are the ones who won.

As much as this first truly free and secret ballot in the GDR is to be assessed as a success of democracy and its results have to be accepted, there remains a bitter aftertaste.

For the young democracy in our country, which has just been achieved with great effort, it will now be urgently necessary to quickly overcome the political fragmentation of all these citizens movements and to form a strong opposition, which is based on the grass-roots and is capable of action. In this connection, one will certainly also have to reconsider the relationship of these groups with Gregor Gysi's and Hans Modrow's Party of Democratic Socialism, which achieved an unexpectedly high election result.

In the democratic interplay of political forces, the GDR needs an effective opposition beside the Alliance government, which has been legitimized by these elections. Otherwise, it will indeed deteriorate, as Stefan Heym bitterly said, to become a footnote in history.

'Alliance' Gives Post-Election News Conference

AU2203103990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 20 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Friedrich Eismann report: "Alliance Striving for Joint Parliamentary Group"]

[Text] East Berlin. A large-scale media spectacle also on the day after the elections—this time one of the winner: hundreds of journalists from all over the world, dozens of camera teams in the overcrowded news center. Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], and Rainer Eppelmann, acting chairman of Democratic Awakening, faced them. As an introduction, the CDU chairman read a statement, which had been completely coordinated with Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, chairman of the German Social Union, who is in Leipzig. It reads as follows:

"On the day after the elections we would like to note with great pleasure that the elections of 18 March brought us a convincing democratic result. This was possible because the citizens demonstrated democratic maturity, which was expressed, above all, in the very high turnout. We thank the many helpers in the polling places and electoral commission, who facilitated the smooth course of the elections. Tackling this task was not easy after the experiences of the past.

"The parties of the Alliance are striving for a parliamentary group community in the People's Chamber. Out of national responsibility and in order to establish a broad basis for determined and effective actions of the future government, we want to form as grand a coalition as possible. Therefore, we invite the Social Democratic Party and the League of Free Democrats to take part in coalition talks. However, these negotiations can be started only after the deliberations of the party bodies.

"From our viewpoint, we will have to concentrate on the following technical questions:

"1. Quick implementation of the monetary, economic, and social union. In this respect, we will have to continue and intensify the initiated negotiations.

"2. The establishment of land structures must be advanced smoothly. We consider this necessary in order to have democratically legitimized people's representative bodies at all levels.

"3. The process of German unification must be embedded into the European efforts for unity. It is to be promoted in cooperation with the neighbors. The "two-plus-four" negotiations and the CSCE process are the framework within which the development should take place.

"4. The principle of loyalty to treaties is valid for the new government.

"5. The Wall should be eliminated as quickly as possible as a clear sign for the growing together of Germany."

This was followed by a lively question-and-answer game directed by press spokesman Helmut Lueck (CDU). Coalition negotiations will be started before the end of the week, even though the composition of the People's Chamber group will not be known before the official final result of the elections is announced on Friday [23 March]. The interlocutors refused to discuss personnel questions—yes, a head of state is needed—but it is too early to discuss the names of the premier, foreign minister, or defense minister. Until the government is formed, the previous cabinet continues to manage the affairs; Lothar de Maiziere noted that it has done what was possible to do; in the economic field, however, more should have been done. In the spirit of loyalty to treaties, the treaties between the GDR and Poland will be observed; the CDU chairman does not rule out a People's Chamber declaration on the Western Polish border. He is interested in expanding the friendly relations with the Soviet Union and with President Gorbachev.

Questions on the process of unification were abundant: This assignment given by the voters will be fulfilled; speculations on the timeframe are inappropriate. Framework conditions for accession via Article 23 of the Basic Law must be agreed on, in particular for property regulations and regulations concerning the social system. The People's Chamber, which can make the decision with a two-thirds majority, has the last word. A referendum cannot be ruled out, either. Social fears in the GDR and political fear among the neighbors must not exist. Furthermore, the path via Article 23, which is preferred by the Alliance, is suited to automatically shortening the application procedures for accession to the EC, which take about two years.

The CDU chairman stated that it is not only German problems that are decided by solving our question. He cannot imagine NATO troops stationed on GDR territory; a fence between the two German states instead of the Wall is a waste of money. The existing checks on people may be abolished as soon as the Wall is leveled.

Rainer Eppelmann rejected a domestic intelligence service; we have had the State Security Service long enough. The People's Chamber has to decide what is going to happen to the files; no one is happy with the current solutions. De Maiziere came out in favor of a law on rehabilitation, which is to settle the question of compensation for the victims of Stalinism. A change in the Constitution is necessary because democratic centralism is still contained in the Constitution and the laender structures do not exist by law. This, too, has to be discussed with the coalition partners. For the population, on the other hand, material questions are now more important than constitutional ones.

SPD Offers Informative Coalition Talks to CDU

LD2203120890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1124 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Social Democratic Party [SPD] is offering informative talks to the Christian Democratic Union on the formation of a coalition government. This is the central issue in a statement from the Social Democrat People's Chamber parliamentary group which was read out to the press today in Berlin.

Richard Schroeder, deputy chairman of the parliamentary group who read out the statement, stressed that the SPD has allowed itself to be led in its decision by coresponsibility for the country. The party has begun to build up a peaceful democracy and to shape the unity of Germany. It affirmed that there will be no coalition with the Party for Democratic Socialism or the German Social Union.

CDU Praises Willingness

LD2203132790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1243 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] greets the decision of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] parliamentary group to conduct informal coalition talks. CDU press spokesman Helmut Lueck said this to ADN on Thursday. In his opinion it would be difficult for the population and for many SPD electors to comprehend it are not even talks between the two parties. Lueck hopes that the talks will be successful. [passage omitted]

Alliance for Germany Chiefs Brief Press on Talks

AU2203153490 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Following talks of several hours in the Federal Chancellor's Office yesterday [21 March], Rainer Eppelmann, chairman of the GDR Democratic Awakening, said in a radio interview today that the parties of the Alliance for Germany would not form a common parliamentary party in the new People's Chamber, but only a working group. What he means by that was explained at a news conference in Bonn today. [Moderator addresses Henning Frank] Henning Frank in Bonn, a parliamentary working group instead of a parliamentary group is something new.

[Frank] It is something new, as was the Alliance, which was not an election alliance but only a lose collection of parties for a common election campaign functions and for participation in a future government.

The talks in the Chancellor's Office were concluded at 2300 yesterday, and that was too late to inform the press, which was briefed in Konrad Adenauer's House today. The host—the West German Christian Democratic Union [CDU]—obviously kept a low profile at this news conference. Together with Lothar de Maiziere, Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, and Rainer Eppelmann as well as their secretaries general, only CDU press spokesman Andreas Fritzenkoetter, appeared at the conference.

He asked the chairman of the GDR CDU to read a brief statement of the three party chiefs:

[Begin Lothar de Maiziere recording] The chairmen of the parties united in the Alliance have agreed to continue their cooperation, which has proved to be successful during the election campaign, in parliamentary and government work. To this end, they decided to form a working group of the deputies of the Alliance for Germany in the People's Chamber. [end recording]

[Frank] This loose alliance of the three parties in the People's Chamber, which was agreed upon last night, is certainly not the result that creator of the Alliance for Germany, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, hoped to achieve in the talks yesterday. The chairman of the West German CDU would have liked to see a parliamentary group of the three Alliance parties in the People's Chamber, similar to the group of the CDU and the Christian Social Union [CSU] in the Bundestag.

However, that was not possible after CSU Chairman Theo Waigel and Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, chairman of the German Social Union [DSU], agreed at a meeting in Hof, Upper Franconia, that the DSU should insist on total independence. As Ebeling made quite clear today, the DSU does not intend to confine its political activities to Saxony and Thuringia.

[Begin Ebeling recording] We will work throughout the GDR, as we did in the election campaign until 18 March, and we do not intend to change our strategy in this respect. [end recording]

[Frank] However the DSU agreed last night to closely cooperate in the People's Chamber with the GDR CDU and the Democratic Awakening in the scope of the Alliance. Talks between the three party leaderships will not only be held in Berlin and Bonn, but also in Leipzig, the DSU headquarters. Lothar de Maiziere stressed today that the Alliance only seeks to strengthen its lose alliance.

[Begin De Maiziere recording] We are in agreement that there must be very close cooperation in the future. All forces must take part in the process of unification that we are pursuing. This also includes the churches in both countries as well as the SPD in the GDR—and I stress this in particular. [end recording]

[Frank] In this connection, the chief of the GDR CDU clearly dissociated himself from Bonn, despite his readiness to keep close contacts with the West German CDU leadership.

[Begin De Maiziere recording] We heard many valuable suggestions in our talks; however, we also agreed that it is important now for us, in making decisions, to take account of the wishes and expectations of the people in the GDR. In doing so, we will make our own unmistakable decisions, which will be unprecedented in history, I think. [end recording]

[Frank] Lothar de Maiziere, who again dodged the question in Bonn today as to whether he would lead the future GDR Government, said that the People's Chamber should decide on the accession of the GDR to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law. He said, however, that this required a two-thirds majority of the deputies in the GDR parliament. First, the monetary, economic, and social union would have to be agreed upon with Bonn and then be passed by the People's Chamber. According to Rainer Eppelmann, chairman of the Democratic Awakening, this, too, will require a qualified majority of votes in the GDR People's Chamber.

Lothar de Maiziere also said that the GDR Government will not only be composed of the GDR CDU and the Democratic Awakening, but will also include the DSU.

CDU Alliance, Liberals Open Coalition Talks

LD2203172890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Talks on setting up initial contacts on forming a coalition government between the Alliance for Germany and the League of Free Democrats began in Berlin this evening. Christian Democratic Union [CDU] press spokesman Helmut Lueck announced this to correspondents. Coalition agreements could not be expected today. There was a date arranged with the Social Democratic Party, but Lueck would not give a time or place. The press spokesman went on to state that all accusations against Lothar de Maiziere about alleged work for the former state security service were groundless.

Before the talks, Chairman of Democratic Awakening Rainer Eppelmann stressed to representatives of the press that he was going into the negotiations "full of optimism." The chairman of the DSU [German Social Union) Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling; the OLDP [Liberal Democratic Party], Prof. Rainer Ortleb; the FDP Free Democratic Party, Dr. Bruno Menzel; and the DFP [German Forum Party], Dr. Juergen Schmieder, also came to the meeting with the CDU chairman, Lothar de Maiziere, at the CDU Executive Building.

The winner of the election, the CDU, extended invitations to the talks last Sunday.

Participants Agree on Coalition

LD2203200590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1926 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The parties of the Alliance for Germany and the Liberals in the League of Free Democrats are basically in agreement about a coalition. This was stated by the chairman of Democratic Awakening, Rainer Eppelmann, today after two-and-a-half hours of negotiations at the Christian Democratic Union headquarters in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] chief Rainer Ortleb said he is very optimistic about the formation of the coalition. He does not specifically rule out a coalition of the LDP, Free Democratic Party and German Forum Party with the DSU [German Social Union]. The Alliance will stay together, Ortleb said after the talk. The Liberals support its view that a rapid and effective economic, monetary and social union must be created with the FRG for the population of the GDR. Individual government posts have not yet been discussed. According to Friday's DIE WELT, the Liberals want the posts of foreign and justice ministers. [passage omitted]

FRG Official on Politicians' Stasi Involvement

LD2303101190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0726 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—According to state minister Lutz Stavenhagen in the Federal Chancellor's Office, the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) has informed the respective party chairmen in the GDR that politicians in the new parties formerly worked for the state security service. Stavenhagen, who is responsible for the coordination of the intelligence services in the Federal Chancellor's Office, told Friday's 'FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE' that ten persons, whose names are known, are involved. There is also evidence against the Christian Democratic Union Chairman de Maiziere, who has however been named only once. Stavenhagen said the information about the named politician is of very variable quality. It is not up to the BND to investigate the evidence.

The paper further reports that the Federal Government has denied reports that the new People's Chamber delegates include BND employees. Stavenhagen stated that the BND has scaled down its activity in the GDR. However, there continues to be interest in the 400,000 Soviet soldiers.

'Serious Evidence' Against De Maiziere

LD2203185790 Hamburg DPA in German 1651 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to [GDR] Government representative Werner Fischer, the Committee for the Dissolution of the GDR State Security Service has discovered "serious evidence" that the GDR-CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere may have worked with the Stasi [state security].

This evidence originates partly from citizens' committees, and is partly anonymous. Fischer was speaking to ZDF [Second German television] following a talk with the acting GDR Premier Hans Modrow (PDS) [Party for Democratic Socialism]. Earlier, Fischer had spoken with the government chief about the latest allegations aimed at a number of People's Chamber delegates.

GDR-CDU spokesman Helmut Lueck told journalists that the allegations were "totally unfounded." De Maiziere had nothing to add to his previous statements. Speaking to the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, which had reported allegations against him, the CDU politician spoke of infamy. Like other lawyers who defended persecuted Christians and regime critics, he had had contacts with the State Security, but nothing more.

Fischer and Modrow had evidently discussed how the announced vetting of all the 400 newly elected deputies is to be handled. Most of the parties have now spoken in favor of such vetting for possible Stasi collaboration.

Official Cites 'Indications'

AU2203200690 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Michael Schmitz report]

[Text] A suspicion is growing stronger that newly elected deputies to the People's Chamber have for years worked for the Stasi state security system. Representatives of the Committee for the Dissolution of the Stasi have submitted a report to the Council of Ministers. However, Bishop Gottfried Forck sharply rejects accusations against the chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], Lothar de Maiziere.

[Begin Forck recording] This is an impertinence. It is really unbelievable that allegations of this kind have been leveled against Lothar de Maiziere. I do not think that they are justified. I hope that proof can be furnished soon that he did not work for the Stasi. [end recording]

Werner Fischer, the head of the Committee for the Dissolution of the Stasi, is not so sure about this. We asked him whether there are specific indications against De Maiziere.

[Begin recording] [Fischer] Yes, there are several indications. Well, there are indications hinting that Lothar de Maiziere used to be an informant of the Stasi. They do exist. There are indications, but no evidence.

[Unidentified reporter] Can you tell us how serious these indications concerning Lothar de Maiziere are?

[Fischer] No, I cannot say anything at this point. So far, it has not been possible for us to inspect the files.

[Reporter] Where are these indications coming from?

[Fischer] From various sources. Most of them are anonymous, and some of them are coming from the citizens' committees.

[Reporter] Are the indications from the citizens' committees to be taken seriously?

[Fischer] Yes, very much so. [end recording]

CDU Chairman de Maiziere did not want to comment on these allegations. The accusations are giving him considerable trouble, his spokesman Helmut Lueck told the press:

[Begin recording] [Lueck] I can only say one brief sentence: The chairman sees no reason to add anything to what he has stated so far.

[Unidentified reporter] Does this mean that he insists that all accusations leveled against him are completely unfounded?

[Lueck] Yes, they are completely unfounded. [end recording]

Deputies To Be Checked for Stasi Involvement

AU2303112190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Mar 90 p 3

[Rene Heilig report: "Conclusions After Anonymous Reports: Checks on Deputies!"]

[Excerpt] People's Chamber deputies were, or still are, employees of intelligence services. Yesterday in an interview with the Cologne newspaper EXPRESS Werner Fischer, government representative for the dissolution of the former National Security Office, stated the allegation that many deputies were so-called "informal employees" of the former Ministry of State Security. Today some of them are working for the FRG's Federal Intelligence Service [BND]. In Fischer's view, cases like Schnur [former chairman of Democratic Awakening] are "possible not only in the Alliance for Germany, but also in the Social Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic Socialism, and perhaps also in the 'Alliance 90'." We talked to him on the telephone.

[ND] Mr. Fischer, where did you get your information from?

[Fischer] I received all pieces of information anonymously, but their quantity permitted certain conclusions to be drawn.

[ND] Their quantity?

[Fischer] Yes, this did not become clear in the article in EXPRESS: So far nothing has been proved.

[ND] The second allegation that some of them changed over to the BND....

[Fischer] I would not call this an allegation. We derive this from the same information, and I have to take note of this information.

[ND] Therefore, you are proposing a church working group, which is to receive permission to read the files of the 400 deputies. So as not to publish the names, the church is to hold individual talks to make the persons in question resign from their position. Is this not more than enough publicity?

[Fischer] It is not a question of picking out individuals. I cannot decide on the course of action. If we find something, it concerns, first of all, the persons in question, and then we need a political decision.

[ND] On Tuesday [20 March] there was a conference between Hans Modrow, Bishop Forck, Minister Ullmann, and government representatives. Mr. Stolpe is said to have been asked for good contacts with the FRG president.

[Fischer] I have to correct this. The name Stolpe was mentioned as one possibility. Since the matter has acquired an intra-German dimension, we considered it correct to brief someone in the FRG. By the way, the talk took place at midday today between Bishop Forck and Mr. Von Weizsaecker.

Previously, President of the Consistory Manfred Stolpe had confirmed to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: He had been asked to act as messenger to the FRG president. But this need not necessarily involve travel. Furthermore: The matter is too complicated and, if it is handled carelessly, it might have a disturbing effect on social peace in the GDR and might strain intra-German relations....

In the evening ADN released information that supplemented Fischer's statements or corrected them indirectly: According to Bishop Gottfried Forck, the Commission for the Dissolution of the National Security Office decided that all 400 People's Chamber deputies will be checked. The bishop had read a letter to the executive committees of the parties and movements that are represented in the People's Chamber. In this letter it is proposed to have the relevant files of the State Security Ministry checked by a representative of the respective party or voters' association in the presence of a representative of the prosecutor general and a church representative. All organizations affected are to name a representative for the body by Friday [23 March] 1700. The persons involved will be briefed on the result of the checks, with their personal rights being legally protected. [passage omitted]

Inquiries Into Stasi Past After Chamber Session

LD2303142290 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bishop Forck [of the Committee for the Dissolution of the Office of National Security] has now ruled out the possibility of all People's Chamber deputies being investigated for collaboration with the Stasi before the constituent meeting of parliament. Referring to a talk with the chief state prosecutor of the GDR, he said on

Deutschlandfunk radio that the People's Chamber itself must decide on such an investigation and appoint a relevant committee. Originally all parties and groupings were to have appointed a representative for a control commission by 1700 today to carry out the vetting before next Friday. No date has yet been set for the first People's Chamber session.

SPD Calls for Statement on Polish Border

LD2203195590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The newly constituted People's Chamber and the FRG's Bundestag, using as verbatim a text as possible, should pass a statement "by freely elected German parliaments" on Poland's western border. The People's Chamber should do this at its first session. The GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] parliamentary group called for this today in a press release. [passage omitted]

SPD 'Text' of Proposed Statement

LD2203200390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1812 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the statement by both German parliaments on Poland's western border, proposed by the Social Democratic Party [SPD] is as follows:

"The population of the GDR has, by its peaceful revolution in the autumn of 1989, removed the divisive nature of the inhumane intra-German border. Now both parts of Germany are to grow together and thus promote the development of a pan-European peacetime order within the framework of the CSCE process. In this context, both freely elected German parliaments ceremonially declare to the world public that they unconditionally recognize Germany's borders which have arisen with all neighboring states as a result of World War II.

"The Polish people in particular should know that their right to live within secure borders will not be called into question by us Germans through territorial claims either now or in the future. We reaffirm the guarantees of the inviolability of the Republic of Poland's current western border as a basis for nations living together peacefully in a common European home. This is to be confirmed in a treaty after the formation of a pan-German parliament.

Alliance 90, Green-Purple Alliance Form Group

LD2103230190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The formation of a joint People's Chamber party group was agreed on in Berlin today by the Alliance 90 (New Forum, Democracy Now, Peace and Human Rights Initiative) and the green-purple alliance of the Green Party and the Independent Women's Union. It was announced at a press conference afterward in the House of Democracy that the party group will meet for the first time tomorrow. Dr. Wolfgang Ullman (Democracy Now) described the joint venture as one of the "most important moments in German constitutional history." All formal cooperation with the Party of Democratic Socialism was rejected. Close cooperation with the Social Democratic Party was dependent upon whether it entered the opposition or decided in favor of coalition with the Alliance.

Modrow Cabinet Meets on Situation, Elections

LD2203122890 Hamburg DPA in German 1128 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Under the direction of acting GDR Premier Hans Modrow (Party for Democratic Socialism), members of his cabinet met today to discuss the situation in the country and to assess the People's Chamber elections. It was an "informal meeting," at which not all ministers were present. According to government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer, the demand for the investigation of the new People's Chamber deputies for possible Stasi involvement was not discussed.

It is not the duty of the outgoing government to deal with this, it was argued in the cabinet. A further topic was the preparation for the local elections on 6 May. The technicalities for handing over office to the new government were not yet discussed; there is after all no government as yet, it was said.

Appeal for Referendum on Unification Issued

AU2203151690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Call for Referendum"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Friday [16 March] figures from the GDR, the FRG, and Berlin (West) called for a referendum on the question of unification or the continued existence of two German states. As they reported at a press conference in Berlin's House of Democracy, this decision could be taken any time after June. For this purpose, the initators sent an appeal to the People's Chamber and the Bundestag, expressing their concern about the nationalist mood on both sides of the border and their outrage at the irresponsible policy of the FRG Government, which is aimed at the complete economic collapse of the GDR.

During the meeting Ina Merkel (Independent Women's Association), Marion Seelig (United Left), Reinhard Schult (New Forum), Juergen Reents (Greens), as well as West Berlin cabaret artist Arnulf Rating explained their standpoints.

Financial Autonomy for Towns, Villages Introduced

AU2203152690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Mar 90 p 2

[ND-Fleischmann report: "Administrative Reform is Under Way"]

[Text] East Berlin—The administrative reform, which was announced in the government statement of 17 November 1989, is under way. This was reported by Deputy Premier Peter Moreth on Friday [16 March].

Measures to establish an independent financial basis of the towns and villages were decided by the Modrow government. Towns and villages may now use their financial means without any restrictions. Taxes from artisan producer cooperatives, private enterprises, and small businessmen amounting to 2 billion GDR marks are now going to the coffers of the communities. The bezirks were recommended to give the towns and villages a share in the revenue from dust and flue gas fees. The councils of the towns and villages are soon to receive the authority to set prices that cover costs in culture, sports, and the recreational sector.

Spokesman Confirms Recent Dismissal of Judges

LD2303144990 Hamburg DPA in German 1322 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—In the past weeks more than 100 judges have been dismissed in the GDR for political reasons. The directors of all 15 area (bezirk) courts and the chairmen and judges of all chambers concerned with political criminal acts ('IA-Courts') had "requested their release from their duties," a spokesman of the GDR Justice Ministry confirmed to DPA on Friday.

It is being checked at the moment which of the total of around 1,200 GDR judges have concerned themselves "particularly actively" with political criminal cases. These jurists are also due to be relieved of their duties. Some of the judges affected have retired or are being employed in other areas of the judiciary. "They are in any case removed from the area of the jurisdiction," it said. They are being replaced by judges from other chambers.

Leading jurists in the GDR have said that such a "cleansing" is a pre-condition for the forthcoming trials of the members of the old state and party leadership as well as other ex-Socialist Unity Party of Germany functionaries to be conducted according to the principles of a state based on the rule of law. This is only possible with "untainted" judges and state attorneys. It could not be ascertained on Friday whether the political state attorneys will also be dismissed. [passage omitted]

Council Establishes Office for Disarmament

AU2303090490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17-18 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "Office for Disarmament and Conversion To Be Established"]

[Text] East Berlin—The GDR Council of Ministers has decided to establish an Office for Disarmament and Conversion in the GDR. It is to verify the observance of disarmament agreements, to coordinate the implementation of the tasks linked with the reduction of Armed Forces and armaments in the GDR, to prepare social and other regulations necessary for this, and to ensure the scientific lead in questions of disarmament, confidence-building, and armament conversion.

Daily Views Prague Foreign Ministers' Meeting

AU2303145990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Jochen Reinert commentary: "Irritations"]

[Text] Already before the meeting of the foreign ministers of the seven Warsaw Pact states in Prague there were irritations because of the selection of the date one day before the GDR elections. They still exist after this meeting, even though not as a result of various formalities but as a result of a cardinal question.

Is a future united Germany to be a member of the blocs or is it to be neutral? Some foreign ministers of the Pact considered it conceivable—obviously also to the surprise of some of their counterparts—that a united Germany might belong to NATO.

CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier even considers Germany's neutrality "the worst" variety. Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski also said that a nonaligned, neutral Germany could easily turn again into a military superpower.

But why should a nonaligned Germany turn into a danger for Europe if a) it is firmly integrated into a continental security system, which has to be newly created, and b) is free of weapons of mass destruction and is largely demilitarized? Would such a Germany not be felt to be more friendly and also more predictable than a highly armed and at least economically expansive NATO Germany that reaches to the Oder and Neisse rivers?

There are certainly alternatives to the one-sided NATO variety. At the congress of the French socialists, Oskar Lafontaine suggested an all-European defense system with a joint supreme command. Foreign Minister Dienstbier himself proposed the establishment of a European commission as the executive organ of a future continental security system. One does not quite understand that the GDR's path toward this must lead via NATO.

Trotskyist Party Presents Election Broadcast

LD1603140790

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German, at 1850 GMT, on 15 March, broadcasts a 15-minute election broadcast by the Federation of Socialist Workers. The program begins with an unidentified speaker. Presenting the federation's election program, saying the federation is a Trotskyist party which believes in the international unity of the working class against Stalinism and capitalism. They are against the reintroduction of capitalist methods of production and private ownership of the means of production.

A second speaker says they did not sweep away the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany regime in order to hand over production to big business in West Germany, that is, those who organized two world wars and Nazism. Such firms are coming to the GDR to exploit the workers and to destroy its social achievements, the speaker continues. The entire strength of the working class must be brought to bear in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

The first speaker then says that the working class must organize the class struggle using such tactics as strikes and factory occupations. He says socialism has not failed, but Stalinism has. He says the social democrats are in the tradition of the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and goes on to explain the historical development of Stalinism. He says that what the Trotskyites predicted has now come true; that is, the collapse of Stalinist bureaucracies. Capitalism is also in crisis, he says, because of trade wars which are turning into attacks on the working class.

The speaker goes on to stress that workers in East and West must unite against capitalism and stalinism. The working class needs its own program, he says. The working class must carry out a political revolution and exercise power, and he warns against trusting the parties to the roundtable discussion because they all agree with the reintroduction of capitalism to the GDR. The elections on Sunday cannot solve the problems confronting the working class and a new revolutionary Marxist party must be built up, he adds. The second speaker returns to say this is the old program of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, and calls on viewers to vote for the federation and give it their support.

The first speaker then says the federation has two candidates in Berlin but in constituencies where there are no federation candidates people should write the letters BSA on the ballot paper to express support for the revolutionary program. He calls on people to study history and to fight for historical truth and concludes by giving an address to write to for further information on the federation.

New Left-Wing Periodical CONSTRUCTIV

LD2203044690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—CONSTRUCTIV, a new writers' periodical which was introduced to the press today, will be an "organ of radical democracy, the voice of ecological common sense, the trumpet of the pacifist-democratic revolution, a periodical of the European left." The monthly, published by Ulrich Herold and advised by Stephan Hermlin, Walter Jens, and Friedrich Schorlemmer, describes the motto of the first magazine, which is now available, as being an "exemplary democratic attitude of mind." [passage omitted] The magazine will appear in the GDR with an edition of 100,000 copies (price: 6.50 marks a copy) and will also be sold in other German-speaking countries.

Commentary Views Fall of Chairman Schnur

AU2203100390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 16 Mar 90 p 2

[Hans Eggert commentary: "Sadness—This Is a Good Feeling"]

[Text] Many things disturb me regarding the latest events surrounding Wolfgang Schnur, and one can think about the style of the election campaign as well as about the ethics in politics in this country in view of this affair.

However, first and foremost, I am concerned that I felt a touch of gloating when the resignation of the former Democratic Awakening chairman was announced on Wednesday [14 March]. The "honest alternative"—it had proved to be what it did not want to be and what it often tried to attribute falsely to its political opponents. It had proved to be incapable of taking really new political action.

Taking a closer look, it is precisely my assessment that makes me shudder: Why do I expect with natural rigor the "new people" to be like angels, behave completely different from the politicians of the past in our country and the politicians of the present in other parts of the world, to have a different philosophy for everyday political life, and to live according to it?

Gloating and shock about Schnur's fall—is there not satiated self-righteousness in me, in us?

Who really resisted this sophisticated, pervasive State Security system in every situation? Who always fought against all fears, who did not make small compromises? I know people who resisted, who did not think opportunistically of momentary advantages and of their life in general. Today I envy them their courage and I ask myself where my courage was, this courage which is now big enough to condemn the politician, the lawyer Schnur for not having the strength to avoid the grip of the State Security force.

Certainly: The man preached different things, in the election campaign his party colleagues pretended and still pretend that there really is no "honest" alternative to them. Sometimes this certainly is a bad thing. One thing more is certain: After the terrible disappointments which have swept over many people in this country over the past year, because former persons of trust or models or ideals evaporated like a drop of water on a hot stone, after all the physical and psychological collapse, the first big affair of GDR democracy must not be simply passing on the agenda of the new democracy—because [that] must have its dark side.

Therefore, the sadness felt by Rainer Eppelmann because of his wrong trust in Wolfgang Schnur's word of honor is a good feeling. In particular, it is a feeling that helps to prevent feelings which grow especially quickly out of disappointment: hatred, for instance. It would be a paralyzing hatred of oneself.

Joint Ventures Concluded at Leipzig Fair

AU2203102890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 15 Mar 90 p 2

[Heiner Pachmann report: "So Far 20 New German Marriages at the Fair"]

[Text] Leipzig—During the first half of the Leipzig Spring Fair, that is, by yesterday, 20 new intra-German enterprises have been agreed on or discussed, including joint production of tractors in the Progress Agricultural Machinery Combine with the Kloeckner Humboldt Deutz Concern from the FRG.

Thus, the prediction that this fair will enter history as the fair of cooperation relations has been confirmed. As a result, Foreign Economy Minister Beil noted satisfaction at domestic and foreign exhibitors.

One of yesterday's important pieces of information was the schedule for the capitalization of the Robotron Combine. As Director General Wokurka announced at a press conference, the combine enterprises are to be turned into limited liability companies by the beginning of July at the latest. Then all projects concerning the participation of foreign capital, which have been prepared so far, will become effective. The umbrella organization of all Robotron limited liability companies is to become a holding company. Workurka stressed that it is also intended to expand relations with the CEMA countries. Thus, after a joint venture with "Zentron"/USSR, a second one has been concluded with a CEMA country; namely with the Hungarian Metrimpex company. Furthermore, it was announced that Robotron will also produce environmental and communication technology as well as vehicle electronics in the future.

An important contract was signed with the Soviet Union. The GDR will receive metallurgical products for another 600 million GDR marks, while it delivers rolled sheet metal to the USSR in return. Furthermore, it was learned that the Soviet exporters view the German plans for unification and economic union calmly.

The enterprises from Berlin, which were awarded a gold medal at the Leipzig Fair this year, include the "7 October" Machine Tool Combine, the combines Communications Electronics, Oberspree Cable Works, and Automation Installation Construction, as well as Spirits, Wine, and Champagne, and the Automatic Cooling Equipment State Owned Enterprise.

Finance Ministry on Purchase of Buildings, Land

AU2303131890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17-18 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN/BZ report: "Favorable Conditions for the Purchase of Houses and Land; Announcement by the Finances and Prices Ministry"]

[Text] East Berlin—The sale of state-owned buildings, which are currently not used, or used insufficiently, for business purposes is made at the replacement price—that is, at the price which would have to be paid today for the new construction of comparable buildings.

This was announced by the Finances and Prices Ministry yesterday. According to the implementation regulations of the Council of Ministers for the law on the sale of state-owned buildings, depreciation and the loss in value as a result of lack of maintenance are taken into consideration.

Sale is also possible to businessmen who already have contracts to rent or use the buildings. The sale of state-owned detached and semi-detached houses takes place in line with the same conditions.

The citizens may also purchase state-owned land, on which houses have been built or where they want to build private homes. For this, the prices for construction ground, which have existed since 1945 on GDR territory and are contained in the price lists of the regions, are applicable. The purchase of state-owned land is not possible for business projects and recreation facilities.

Interested persons are recommended to consult the current legal authorities, the state-owned enterprises or the councils of the towns and villages.

Government 'Statement' on Romanian Events

LD2203223390 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government issued the following statement in Budapest on Thursday:

In view of the appalling atrocities committed against the Hungarian community in Tirgu Mures, the Hungarian Government is baffled by the Romanian Government's statement issued on March 21.

All the more so, as during the turning-point in Romania in December, 1989, and ever since, the Hungarian people and government have expressed their solidarity with the cause of the democratization in Romania in both words and deeds, and unselfishly provided aid to the peoples of Romania.

The events that have taken place in Romania during the past few days provoke nothing short of outrage and rejection in every honest, decent person. This is particularly so in Hungary, whose inhabitants are inextricably connected to the Hungarian community beyond the borders.

The Hungarian Government associates the deterioration of the nationality conflict leading to the tragic events with the attitude of the Romanian Government, hesitant to take resolute action to put down the revival of chauvinism in Romania, and even allowing organizations such as Vatra Romaneasca, with its racist policy, or the Iron Guard, notorious for its fascist past, to operate legally.

The Hungarian side considers it necessary to highlight the fact that attempts by the reactionary forces of Romania to fuel anti- Hungarian hysteria and incite domestic tension may seriously jeopardize democratic advance in Romania.

It is worrying that the Romanian evaluation of the Tirgu Mures events ignores these aspects, and that the Romanian Goverment did not feel it necessary to dissociate itself from these organizations and their extreme goals, even in view of the ever greater threat to democratic advance.

It is our firm conviction that punishing the perpetrators and merciless individuals who precipitated the tragic events is not only required by European and Hungarian public opinion and the government: It cannot be alien to the responsible forces of the Romanian renewal, either.

This belief could be reinforced if the Romanian leadership condemned outright the manifestations of an anti-nationality pogrom and brought the guilty to justice in an effort to do its utmost to protect the lives and rights of the ethnic Hungarians, ease tensions, and guarantee universal nationality rights, as well as the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and its recommendations.

The Republic of Hungary most strongly refutes the accusations included in the Romanian Government statement.

Romanian reference to external interference is unfounded, and can be regarded as aimed at concealing the genuine causes and perpetrators behind the tragic events, and not at doing away with the national hatred incited by the criminal Ceausescu regime, which should be the most fundamental interest of not only the minorities, but the Romanian people as well.

Since taking up office, the Hungarian Government has done its best to mitigate the conflicts between the two countries in an attempt to set up good-neighbourly relations and guided by the conviction that reconciliation between the two peoples was a historical necessity which should be promoted by every means provided by the overthrow of the Romanian dictatorship.

The Hungarian Government rightly expects the Romanian Government to do its utmost in the interest of reaching a historical settlement, providing full guarantees for the collective and individual rights of the minorities in Romania, something it has also declared it supports.

The Hungarian side has made a diplomatic request to the Romanian Government for an objective investigation of the crimes committed in Tirgu Mures to be carried out and for the guilty parties to be exposed and legally punished.

Instead of a reassuring reply, all it has received so far is unfounded accusations.

The Government of the Republic of Hungary is unchanged in its readiness to work for cooperation between the two nations, and to enter negotiations on any issue in connection with tense bilateral relations.

This, however, requires putting the bridles on chauvinistic emotions in Romania and taking efficient action to guarantee the existence of ethnic Hungarians and the safety of Hungarian citizens staying in Romania.

Government Communique on Romania Events

LD2203184490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] We indicated in our "Lunchtime Chronicle" program that sources close to the government had signalled that a stance was to be expected in connection with events in Romania. The report arrived a short while ago.

[Reporter] The Hungarian Government rejects in the most resolute manner the accusations which are contained in the Romanian Government statement in connection with the events in Tirgu Mures.

The Romanian pronouncements alluding to outside intervention are unfounded. They are to be evaluated as endeavors aimed at uncovering the real causes that sparked off the tragic events and the identity of those who are really responsible, and they do not serve the elimination of the national hatred incited by the Ceausescu regime, which represents the most fundamental interests not only of the minorities, but also of the Romanian people.

The Hungarian Government establshes a link between the aggravation of the nationality discord, which has culminated in the tragic events, and the Romanian Government's attitude, which does not take decisive measures to prevent the revival of Romanian chauvinism.

The Hungarian side considers it necessary to draw attention to the fact that the anti-Magyar hysteria of the reactionary Romanian forces is sweeping the democratic unfolding in Romania into grave danger.

It is worrying that the Romanian evaluation of the Tirgu Mures events does not deal with these interconnections, and that the Romanian Government has not deemed it necessary to disassociate itself from the organizations and their extremist endeavors.

The Hungarian side, through diplomatic channels, has requested the Romanian Government to make a factual investigation of the criminal acts in Tirgu Mures, to name those responsible, and to call them to account before the law. Instead of a reassuring response, all it has received are accusations lacking foundation.

The Hungarian Government communique stresses that it continues to be ready to work on cooperation between the two nations and to conduct discussions on all issues concerning the two countries' relations, which have become tense. For this, however, the curbing of the Romanian chauvinistic passions and the taking of effective measures in the interest of guaranteeing the existence of Magyardom in Romania and of Hungarian citizens staying in Romania are indispensable.

Latest Romania Situation Termed 'Disquieting'

LD2303151990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] According to the latest reports received by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, at present there are no atrocities in Romania, but the situation remains disquieting.

Imre Szokai, deputy foreign minister, emphasized that the tragedy at Tirgu Mures is not only a warning to Romania's leaders, but also to the whole of Europe. The Bucharest leadership is uncertain, and its contradictory behavior carries the danger that a new dictatorship could step in in place of the fallen regime.

The deputy foreign minister emphasized: From the Hungary side they are urging before all else that the Romanian leadership should defend its citizens, and prevent pogroms.

Horn Sends Letter to Romanian Foreign Minister

LD2203235590 Budapest MTI in English 2316 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned to his office on Thursday Simion Pop, Romanian ambassador to Hungary, and handed over a message from Foreign Minister Gyula Horn to Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac.

The letter includes information on the achievements and tasks of the meeting entitled 'Hungarian-Romanian Dialogue—Professionals for Historical Settlement', organized by FERENCZY PRESSE AGENTUR in Budapest on March 19 and 20.

Horn, Karpati on Romania, Foreign Reaction

LD2203140190 Budapest MTI in English 1053 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Minister of Defense Ferenc Karpati gave interviews to the daily NEPSZABADSAG, in connection with the events in Tirgu Mures, Romania. (the interviews were made on Wednesday afternoon.) [21 March]

Mr Horn said: "A lawful government should be able to check these kinds of atrocities... When certain organizations in Romania formulate that Hungarians have no place in the country, then it is also the formulation of the responsibility of the lawful government."

With respect to the probable position of the United Nations, and its reaction, the foreign minister said: The Security Council intervenes only if a grave conflict comes about between two countries. "We cannot request that UN peace-keeping troops be called in, this can be done only by the Romanian Government or the Romanian Parliament. But it is my conviction that in case the various governments and international organizations exert pressure on the Romanian Government, then this will definitely yield results."

Commenting on the reactions by TASS and several Paris newspapers, Mr Horn said: "The TASS position came as a surprise to me, too, just as that of several Paris newspapers. But the situation is changing. For instance, the Italian newspapers did not write anything about the matter on Tuesday, yet on Wednesday they did and held the Romanian nationalists responsible. These articles also reach France."

Minister of Defense Ferenc Karpati said he made efforts to contact the Romanian military leadership late in the evening of March 19, on the request of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. However, he was able to talk with the chief of staff only on the morning of March 20. The Romanian chief of staff said they would track down the criminals, who he called hooligans, on the basis of the photographs at their disposal, and would bring them to trial. "Minister of Defense Stanculescu telephoned me in the morning hours on Wednesday, and expressed his sincere regret over the events. He said the forces opposing the December revolution are active in the interest of spoiling the relations between the Romanian, Hungarian and other minorities who have coexisted for centuries."

Mr Karpati also said the report, according to which the Hungarian Army had been regrouped from the country's western area to the eastern part, is untrue, and he told this to Mr Stancalescu as well, who inquired about this matter.

Statement Demands 'Civilized Order' in Romania

LD2203162390 Budapest MTI in English 1553 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—On behalf of the Hungarian Government and in reaction to the Romanian Government statement carried by the press, the Hungarian foreign minister has summed up the recent events in official Hungarian-Romanian contacts as follows:

On the night of March 19, the ministry instructed Hungary's Bucharest ambassador to contact President Ion Iliescu or Prime Miniter Petre Roman without delay and ask them to take efficient measures so as to protect the safety of Hungarians. The ambassador waited in vain for an answer. He met President Iliescu by chance at Andras Suto's hospital bed. The president expressed his regret, and promised to restore legal order. In the meantime, the bloody events continued. On the morning of March 20, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn summoned the Romanian ambassador and handed over to him Miklos Nemeth's message to Petre Roman, urging immediate action by the Romanian authorities. The foreign minister informed the ambassador about the advances made towards international organizations (UN secretary-general, president of the Security Council).

Since the bloodshed went on, Gyula Horn instructed the Hungarian ambassador on the morning of March 21 to contact the Romanian leadership. The ambassador was informed that Petre Roman was out of reach. He also failed to establish contact with any other leader. The same morning, the Hungarian foreign minister again summoned the Romanian ambassador and pressed for a reply from Bucharest. The ambassador said he had not received an answer. The foreign minister made mention of the instigation statements included in a TV announcement by the Romanian Peasant Party the previous evening and a radio interview the defense minister made. He asked the Romanian leader to counterbalance these with statements.

It can be established that, while the Romanian leadership did not rent [as received] to the Hungarian requests, the Army and the police stood by and watched the bloody pogrom, and thus indirectly encouraged the extreme Romanian forces.

It is a fundamental task of any legal government to provide efficient protection for its citizens. So long as Petre Roman's government fails to guarantee legal order, there is no sense holding separate Hungarian-Romanian talks. The Hungarian Government is prepared to settle relations, but for this, the Romanian side should create the conditions of civilized, legal order. When it receives a statement by the Romanian prime minister through official channels, the Hungarian Government will then give a genuine answer.

Transylvania Seen as Possible Karabakh

AU2203140390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Mar 90 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Tirgu Mures"]

[Text] One of the greatest representatives of contemporary Hungarian literature was bloodily beaten up and severely wounded in Tirgu Mures on 19 March. In the same place and on the same day, a mob started a bloody manhunt against the representatives of Hungarians there. These are the bare facts, and protest is the most natural human reaction. To raise one's voice against flagrant injustice, inhumanity, and the collective harassment of a national minority is a natural answer of any Hungarian-thinking and Hungarian-feeling man. The author of "My Mother Promised an Easy Dream" as well as the other victims of the pogrom in Tirgu Mures are victims of the entire nation. Therefore, symbolically, an entire country was present in Heroes' Square in Budapest and joining the voices of protest becomes a test of our honesty. However, we must also do something else in these difficult hours: There are things we must ask and things we must say.

First of all, we must ask how this could happen? How could this happen, after the Hungarian Government had repeatedly warned the Romanian authorities on various levels about an expected provocation, and no suitable measures had been taken? They could not, or did not want to, do anything against the prepared crime? How is it possible that some high-ranking officers of the Romanian Army collaborated with the new-fangled lynch-guardists? How is it possible that the authorities failed to notice the 17 trucks and buses transporting people armed with clubs and scythes to Tirgu Mures?

One could continue to ask such questions and also wonder what was at the basis of the timing? However, enough of the questions, and we are not the ones who should provide the answers. We know that, despite all our sincere respect for Romania's president (and appreciating his gesture of visiting Andras Suto in the hospital), we cannot accept the talk on abuse and the failures of the police. If a petty thief is slapped in the face by the police, this is abuse; if the police fail to catch a petty thief, this is a failure; however, this is not what happened here.

Second: Waiting for an answer, we must also clearly state what we expect. The international law in force today obliges both Hungary and Romania to ban the fascist organizations. If the Vatra Romaneasca is not a fascist organization, what is? According to the Helsinki Final Act, every country is responsible for respecting the rights of nations and nationalities on its territory. Helsinki obliges the countries to provide the rights naturally due to the national minorities, rather than gradually ration these rights by measuring them on pharmacy scale. Pacta sunt servanda—agreements must be observed. This is not happening, and therefore, we must bitterly conclude that, perhaps with the exception of Austria, both the West and East has so far failed to properly evaluate the hard fact that the fate of the Hungarians in Transylvania has hardly changed with the fall of Ceausescu. Moreover, it seems that, for some countries, it is more important to ensure Romania's place in their traditional diplomatic concepts, rather than using their historical relations for influencing democracy in Romania....

Not only should Budapest ask Bucharest whether its state power can or wants to guarantee human rights and equal and honest living conditions for Europe's largest national minority, and whether the soft-spoken writer can write about the life of people living in the Kalota and Hargita areas, and whether a teacher can teach in his mother tongue without having to fear the activity of sadist gangs. If Romania demands the advantages given to civilized and democratic countries, perhaps it will also have to be proved that there is no democracy without the rights of national minorities.

We steer clear of being shrill and frightening people, and therefore, we have refrained so far from writing in these columns that Transylvania could become a Karabakh in the heart of Europe. However, if the things that happened in Tirgu Mures happen again, we cannot exclude this possibility either. Therefore, Europe—from Moscow to Paris and from Warsaw to Bonn—should follow the events in Tirgu Mures closely. To quote Thomas Mann, Europe should be careful. It is easier to kindle a fire than to extinguish it.

'Text' of Parties' Joint Appeal to Romania

LD2203194990 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—As already reported, an appeal was published by eleven Hungarian parties concerning events taking place in Tirgu Mures.

The following is the full text of the appeal:

'The Agrarian Union, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Patriotic Electoral Coalition, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Socialist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the Entrepreneurs' Party, jointly express their protest against the brutal attacks on Hungarians in Transylvania, that threaten the very existence of the entire Hungarian population in Romania. The situation emerging in the wake of the fascistoid pogrom in Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely) poses a threat to the process of democratic change under way in Eastern-Central Europe as well as to the peace and security of the continent. Prompted by anxiety about these grave perils, we address a joint appeal to the people and nations of Romania, to all parties and organizations committed to Romania's democratic development, to all honest Romanian citizens who wish to attain the prosperity of their country in the spirit of universal human values and European norms.

The December revolution, the heroes of which have earned the admiration of the whole world, has offered an historical opportunity for transforming relations between the two countries on new, democratic foundations. The Hungarian people has given evidence of its earnest aspiration for reconciliation by receiving the refugees fleeing from the dictatorship and providing unselfish aid for those afflicted and in need.

The tragic developments of the past days in Romania, the resurgent extremist trends and the bloodshed in Tirgu Mures serve to compromise the process of democratizing the Romanian society and threaten with the emergence of a new dictatorship. In our conviction, all those events tend to jeopardize the implementation of the rights of minorities, including the nationality rights of Hungarians, living in Romania and are even inconsistent with the national interests of the Romanian people, as Romania may exclude itself from a new democratic Europe by disregarding the rights set forth in international instruments.'

Fomenting chauvinistic sentiments and tolerating open violence give rise to fears in the Carpathian Basin and in the whole region and, unless action is taken in time to contain them, such trends will continue to poison relations among the peoples living here and may cause serious damage to their mutual relations. The rebirth of the countries of Eastern-Central Europe and the creation of modern European democracy call for a rethink of the role and significance of national minorities and require guarantees for their rights within national and international frameworks. Unless this is done, the elementary social conditions for modernization in the countries of the region cannot be created and Eastern-Central Europe may even miss the chance of progress, with its development likely to be arrested for a long time to come.

We pledge our full solidarity with Hungarians in Transylvania and all Romania in the face of attacks against them. Aware of the common destiny of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples, of all peoples in the Carpathian Basin, we reaffirm our faith in the friendship of our peoples. We support the rightful endeavours of Hungarians in Romania to exercise their individual and collective rights, convinced that thereby they serve the prosperity of Romania as well. We reject any form of violence and call on all democratic and progressive forces to make joint efforts against the resurgent fascist trends. The 11 parties declare their solidarity with all democratic forcs in Romania and stand ready to do their utmost, in accordance with the documents of the Helsinki process as well as the generally accepted norms of international law, to promote cooperation and friendship between, as well as the peaceful development of, the two peoples and countries on behalf of building a united and democratic Europe.

We are confident that the democratic forces of Romania will be able to curb violence and to overcome the crisis. Hopes to do so are afforded by the spirit and the documents of the meeting of Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals held in Budapest on 19-20 March, 1990.

Magyars Denounce Romanian Government Statement

LD2203115390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The anti-Magyar actions are continuing in Tirgu Mures. Otto Oltvanyi reports from Bucharest.

[Begin Oltvanyi recording] Disillusionment and antipathy have been generated amongst the Magyars in Romania by the Romanian Government statement which, in a false presentation, accuses Hungary of sparking off the bloody events in Tirgu Mures.

In connection with this, the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania and the Organization of Magyar Youth from Covasna County have issued a statement. What the government statement contains is not one-sidedness but simply falsification, says the document. In Romania, the Magyars have not desecrated any statue. On 15 March, after decades-long suppression, we proclaimed our national existence with dignity and ceremony. Only on the basis of personal accounts do we know what has happened in the other parts of the country, because our country's mass communication system is expressly anti-Magyar, it is turning the Romanian masses against us. Our standpoints which respect the Romanians in a brotherly way are not carried on television or by the Romanian news agency. We will find a way of revealing our position to Romanian public opinion and the world. We will not compromise, because our decent attitude is human and European, and this is our true strength, concludes the protest adopted in Sfintu Gheorghe.

More and more indications are coming from Tirgu Mures that the anti-Magyar actions are continuing. The attackers most recently beat up Mihaly Peter, a university lecturer specializing in microbiology, who had to be taken to hospital in grave condition.

Magyar inhabitants are receiving black-edged slips of paper, bearing the words: "Rotten chauvinist, ask for a Hungarian passport, as long as you have time to do so!" The signature is: the inhabitants of Gorgeny. It should be known that regarding the people of Gorgenyi, the Vatra Romaneasca organization had them brought in for the massacre against the defenseless Magyar inhabitants. They were the ignonimious attackers of Andras Suto. [end recording]

Number of Romanian Refugees in Country Updated

AU2203171990 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Mar 90 p 5

[MTI report: "34,000 Refugees in Two Years"]

[Text] Istvan Markus, deputy head of the Refugee Affairs Office, announced at a 20 March press conference that people recognized as refugees will continue to enjoy full support in Hungary. Government measures will continue to help the refugees who have arrived in Hungary from Romania in the last two years and who do not intend to return so that they can adjust and find housing and jobs. He also said that the legal status of refugees who arrived in Hungary since the beginning of this year could be settled according to the stipulations of the new law on immigration and citizenship. Refugees who desire to return will also receive the necessary assistance. An interministerial committee will work out the ways of settling the various problems concerning their jobs, possible credits, and other financial, labor, and family problems.

It is necessary to settle the status of Romanian refugees as soon as possible, in cooperation with the Romanian authorities, Istvan Markus pointed out. It is important to make sure that the refugees who desire to settle in Hungary can obtain their passports and citizenship papers requested by our new laws through their embassy. Istvan Markus pointed out that supporting the refugees is a specific state task and we have accepted an international obligation to carry out this task.

More than 34,000 refugees have arrived in Hungary in the last two years and some 67 percent of them arrived illegally. More than 31,000 people were granted residence permits and 3,000 traveled to other countries. On 15 February 1990, there were more than 26,000 refugees in Hungary, with 16,400 people possessing temporary residence permits, more than 2,200 people waiting for further travel documents, and more than 7,000 people waiting for settlement permits. By 15 February 1990, some 1,000 people had left Hungary with the intention of returning to their homeland.

Joint Romanian Forum Condemns Tirgu Mures Acts

AU2203135890 Budapest MTI in English 2235 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, 20 Mar (MTI)—The atrocities in Tirgu Mures cast a shadow over the second day of the summit of Hungarian and Romanian professionals. At the March 19-20 session, the leading Hungarian, Transylvanian and Romanian intellectuals decided to draft a joint statement on the events.

Hungarian writer Gyorgy Konrad pointed out that there was an aggressive type of nationalism, nearly verging on fascism, gaining impetus in Central and Eastern Europe. Governments should wage a war against such tendencies. Any government which proves to be lenient towards pogroms is acting against international norms. Fascism should not be allowed to exist in Europe at any rate.

Lajos Demeny, deputy minister of education in Romania, said he had to point to the responsibility of the Romanian Government and parliament for not having the ability, or being too weak, to face the imminent threat. He demanded the Bucharest government to appoint an omnipotent government committee to investigate the events and punish the perpetrators. At the same time, he requests the Hungarian minority to stay calm and sober.

Lajos Kantor, editor-in-chief of a Cluj Napoca publication, "KORUNK", and Bela Marko, poet, said they had warned President Iliescu and the Romanian Government repeatedly for some days of the growing tension in Tirgu Mures. The government had, however, ignored these warnings.

'We have worked, and could work, together for two days,' said Mr Konrad at a press conference after the summit. 'Even one year ago we would not have been able to spot any common principles, and three months ago, we could not have staged this conference—even now many of the participants from Romania came in the face of threats.'

'We have passed two statements: One against the atrocities in Tirgu Mures, the other on the universal principles of co-existence. This meeting was only the first move,' he stressed 'which is to take an institutional form with its headquarters set up in Cluj Napoca, Bucharest and Budapest.

Mr Iliescu's letter in which he expressed his regret over the events that had taken place in Tirgu Mures was also read out at the press conference.

The Rev Laszlo Tokes telephoned from Sacramento, Cal. to greet the meeting and tell participants about the worry the US public opinion feels over the situation of Romanian minorities.

Participants of the Hungarian-Romanian summit passed a joint statement, including a condemning position on the Tirgu Mures events.

'These manifestations jeopardize Romania's adjustment to the Europe of the present day and tomorrow. We were shocked and appalled to receive the news that the writer Andras Suto has been attacked again... We believe and profess that it is the duty of every goverment to protect and shelter the lives of its citizens, as well as individual and collective rights.'

'We pledge to answer any attempts to incite hatred with as many attempts to promote settlement and understanding,' says the statement.

Romanian TV Accused of 'Blatant Lie' on Beatings

LD2203201190 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Laslo Cselenyi report]

[Text] [Cselenyi] These pictures were shown for the first time late last night on Bucharest television. We were able to see these on "Newsreel" last night.

Romanian television is now provoking the Romanians to further killings with the blatant lie that on the pictures which can be seen here, Magyars are beating Romanians, whereas according to eyewitnesses, and the account of the Irish reporter, in Tirgu Mures it was Romanian nationalists, armed with cudgels, who lynched peaceful Magyar demonstrators. For example, they beat up university teacher Mihaly Peter, a microbiologist. He participated in the demonstration with a placard demanding the restoration of Bolyai University. It can be clearly seen that certain people among the lynchers are wearing white armbands, which is the particular sign of members of the fascist organization Vatra Romaneasca.

[Announcer] We received these pictures and the further explanations from the Foreign Political Editorial.

News Coverage of Transylvania Criticized

LD 303151690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The people from Tirgu Mures who are living in Hungary have held a meeting from which they issued a statement. Janos Hollos reports:

[Hollos] As a consequence of the grave situation which has developed in Transylvania, it is conceivable that within a few days, refugees will once again arrive in large numbers in Hungary. If similar events were to happen in any other part of the world, the country concerned would certainly have taken measures to prepare to receive the refugees, and to give direct medical and material help. This was stated at the meeting organized by Magyar intellectuals from Transylvania, in order to help accurate reporting.

Both the Hungarian and the Romanian news media are committing many mistakes. There are many rumors, misunderstandings deriving from lack of information, conscious misleading. These mistakes could now claim human lives. According to Transylvanian writer Attila Vari, it is a huge failure that Hungarian television and radio still do not have a permanent correspondent on the scene, though this would be a minimum conditions for accurate reporting.

At the meeting, it was also voiced that it has become apparent by now that the revolution in Timisoara and that in Bucharest cannot be equated with each other. In Bucharest, it seems that only a coup d'etat was carried out, where one member of the clan settled scores with another, while in Timisoara it was a true revolution, organized from below, which took place.

The participants in the meeting, around 100 people, are are present debating the question of creating a Friendship Circle, which would represent Magyardom in Romania, and which would help the flow of information as well as coordinate possible Hungarian aid initiatives.

Romania Situation Said Similar to Timisoara

LD2203152890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Mihaly Fulop, scientific department head of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute, speaks to Gyorgy Nika.

[Begin recording] [Nika] Very serious accusations have been made in the Romanian Government statement by Petre Roman, prime minister, about Hungarian intervention.

[Fulop] One has the feeling that the same government officials who drafted the Romanian Government statement also wrote Nicolae Ceausescu's speech of 20 December 1989. The mood and atmosphere is incredibly similar to the pre-Timisoara situation and really the arguments are the same—namely, that only external factors are responsible for what happened, despite the fact that everybody could see on television that only and exclusively Romanian internal factors are responsible for this. [passage omitted]

[Nika] The Hungarian Government has confirmed several times its readiness for the settlement of relations, and in Petre Roman's message there is a passage in which he expresses hope for a bilateral sorting things out. What can be expected?

[Fulop] [passage omitted] Everybody waits for the Romanian authorities to dissociate themselves from accusations of separatism, or privileges of minorities, and so on. If this happens [changes thought]—but on the side of the Hungarian minority, and everybody keeps this in view, there is a need to endeavor to achieve a concrete agreement regarding the source of the conflict in Tirgu Mures, that is in the school dispute— an agreement which lays down precise dates about which schools open and when, on the one hand. On the other hand, the guilty must be taken to court under any circumstances and must be punished. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Young Democrats See Civil War Danger in Romania

LD2303000490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Report by Erno Kardos on news conference by the Federation of Young Democrats; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Mention was made [at the news conference] of the events in Transylvania. As Zsolt Nemeth said, it is their opinion that a civil war situation is developing. If the Army intervenes, however, it could easily lead to a military dictatorship. The Young Democrats have sent a communique to youth organizations in Romania demanding the guarantee of education and minority rights. Speaking about the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] opinion that enmities are being fueled from here [Hungary], Nemeth said this was an unacceptable official Romanian view. The MSZMP's stand is a false election ruse. As to whether it is wise or not, nobody commented.

Volan Bus Service to Transylvania Halted

LD2203150790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Owing to the uncertain conditions which have developed in Romania, Volan Bus [Hungarian bus enterprise] has halted its scheduled bus services on the Budapest-Cluj-Tirgu Mures-Odorheiu Secuiesc-Miercurea Ciuc route. Today's early morning service was not dispatched, and bus traffic will be stopped until the situation normalizes.

Romanian Ambassador Interviewed on Tirgu Mures

LD2203140390 Budapest MTI in English 1112 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—Simion Pop, the Romanian ambassador to Hungary, gave an interview to Thursday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" in connection with the events in Tirgu Mures.

The ambassador said: 'All that has happened there is just as painful for us, Romanians. I would like to stress that certain nationalist, chauvinistic elements are responsible for the brutal atrocities, rather than the Romanian people. The minority problem cannot be solved with such methods. It is my conviction that there was a provocation in Tirgu Mures.'

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] - Are you thinking about an anti-Hungarian provocation?

[Pop] 'It seems so. In reality, however, certain forces in Romania strive to destabilize the new system, and would like to compromise the country's new leadership as much as possible. In my view, this bloody provocation was mainly aimed against the new leaders.'

Nemeth Receives Soviet Deputy Prime Minister

LD2103180690 Budapest MTI in English 1135 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 21 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in Budapest Stepan Sitarian, Soviet deputy prime minister, who is heading an economic delegation to Hungary.

Also present at the talks was Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy.

Hungary Begins Trade Talks With USSR

'Cautious Hopes' for Agreement

LD2103185990 Budapest MTI in English 1340 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 21, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—There are cautious hopes that top Hungarian and Soviet Government officials meeting in Budapest will reach some kind of agreement today on vital issues of trade between the two countries.

The most controversial item on the agenda is the Soviet Union's declared intention to sharply reduce both oil supplies to Hungary and engineering imports from Hungary, while attempts to fix an agreed dollar exchange rate to convert Hungary's current account surplus of 800 million roubles are also proving difficult.

Observers predict a sharp drop in bilateral trade this year.

The Soviet Union last year fell 6.9 per cent short of the 3.9 billion roubles' worth of goods it should have delivered under inter-governmental agreements. The shortfall affected mainly crude oil supplies, petrol and natural gas which were 150,000 tonnes, 64,000 and 24 million cubic metres down respectively.

Energy accounted for 45.1 per cent and materials and spare parts for 37.3 per cent of imports from the USSR.

Hungary, meanwhile, had planned for 4.1 billion roubles' worth of 1989 exports to the Soviet Union but fell 279 million roubles short. Machinery makes up 47 per cent of Hungarian exports, while 20.3 per cent are materials and spare parts, 17.4 per cent consumer goods and 14.6 per cent foodstuffs.

Barter deals were worth 382.9 million roubles to the Hungarians and 236.9 million roubles to the Soviets last year, an increase of 54 per cent over the previous year, and included the delivery to the Soviet Union of 875 buses, as well as computer equipment.

Hard currency-accounted trade also saw an increase last year, with Hungarian exports reaching $175.3 million, of which wheat alone accounted for $96.2 million. The Soviet Union sold Hungary 2.5 million dollars' worth of goods, mainly energy.

Progress Noted

LD2203151790 Budapest MTI in English 1155 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian-Soviet trade talks which were scheduled to end on Wednesday afternoon, have entered a third day.

The last outstanding issue was how Hungary's 1989 current account surplus of 800 million roubles should be tackled, especially with regard to the Soviet Union's payment of the surplus.

The Hungarians' request that it be paid in dollars has been agreed to in principle by the Soviets but the two sides have not reached agreement as to the rouble-to-dollar rate of conversion. There is likely to be a Hungarian surplus this year again which will also have to be paid in dollars.

However the two other controversial issues—Soviet energy supplies and Hungarian machine exports—have resulted in agreement.

Various earlier reports had suggested that the Soviet Union was looking to reduce its crude oil deliveries to Hungary by anything between 40 and 60 per cent. According to Laszlo Bekesi, Hungarian minister of finance, this would cost Hungary $80-100 million a year (not per month, as previously stated) in hard currency oil from other sources, mainly OPEC countries. It is not yet clear under what terms the agreement has finally been concluded but the Soviets are thought to have compromised considerably on the size of the cut.

The other controversial issue which seems to have been resolved is the question of Hungarian machine exports, which the Soviet Union would like to see reduced drastically, a position which the Hungarians had rejected.

Protocol Finalized

LD2203154390 Budapest MTI in English 1335 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22, 1990 (MTI—ECONEWS)—Following three days of talks, the 1990 Hungarian-Soviet trade protocol has finally been concluded. Partners signed the agreement at Budapest Airport a few minutes before the Soviet delegation headed by Deputy Premier Stepan Sitaryan and Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev, left Hungary early Thursday afternoon.

The two sides have reached agreement on Hungary's 1989 current account surplus of 800 million rbls. The agreement signed now stipulates 0.92 to be the rouble-to-dollar rate of conversion under which the Soviets will pay Hungary slightly over 720 million USD in return for the 800 million rbl Hungarian surplus. However, Hungary, for the time being, will not get any money, because the sum will be earmarked to cover the deficit Hungary is to incur as a result of the switch-over to dollar accounting in Hungarian-Soviet trade next year. This also means that the sides have agreed that convertible accounting will be introduced in bilateral trade from 1991, and goods quotas will also be eliminated.

This year's projection for goods trade between the two countries is that Soviet deliveries will amount to about 3.7 billion rbls, 500 million rbls of which will be machinery, while the remaining amount, approximately 3 billion rbls worth will come from deliveries of energy and raw materials. (Last year Soviet deliveries valued 3.6 billion rbls, while Hungarian exports were worth 4.8 billion rbls.)

Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union are expected to amount to 3.6 billion rbls this year. Machines and equipment worth 1.6 billion rbls are to be delivered to the Soviet Union. This was Hungary's original agreement target. The remaining amount will include foodstuffs, industrial consumer articles and raw materials, to the value of 1.8 billion rbls.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Namibia

LD2203223790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Hungary has established diplomatic relations with Namibia. The agreement pertaining to this was signed by Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi, who participated in the celebration for the declaration of the African country's independence, as the personal envoy of interim head of state Matyas Szuros. The Soviet Union has also established official interstate relations with Namibia.

Karpati on Military Service Cut, Romania

LD2203205490 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—Contrary to previous reports, military service is to be reduced to 12 months from this August, and not the date mentioned previously (February, 1991), Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, told journalists at the Ministry of Defence on Thursday.

He said the ministry was to put forward the new proposal to the government very soon.

Furthermore, in future, soldiers will not be liable to carry out other types of service, such as agricultural work.

Another issue discussed at the press briefing was whether the Hungarian Army had prepared itself for a potential Romanian provocation.

The minister denied allegations of troop movements during the past few days. He said those who spread such rumours gave a boost precisely to the extreme chauvinist forces in Romania.

Answering another question, Mr Karpati pointed out that separating the leadership of the ministry and the Army had not been done to preserve the power of military leaders: Quite the contrary, as, under the modified defence law, the appointment of generals will fall under the scope of the president of the republic.

Terrorist Threat Directed at Malev Airline

Charter Flights Suspended

LD2203193790 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian airline Malev will continue to run its regular flights between Budapest and Tel Aviv, though they have suspended charter flights on the same route, Ferenc Urban, head of Malev's marketing department, told ECONEWS today.

After being threatened by an organization calling itself the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine on March 16, Malev announced yesterday that they are to put a stop to Soviet Jews booking seats in Moscow on Malev flights so as not to endanger the lives of passengers or put their aircraft at risk.

In keeping with international air transport regulations, Malev will, of course, cater for, and compensate the losses of, those with valid air tickets who touch down in Budapest on their way from Moscow to Tel Aviv.

Malev and El Al launched a regular service between Budapest and Tel Aviv in April last year.

Initially, it was a twice-weekly service in both directions, but later, as Soviet Jews started to leave the USSR in growing numbers, Malev laid on charter flights as required.

Malev figures reveal that the total numbers of passengers it flew between Budapest and Tel Aviv in January, 1990—counting both regular and charter services in both directions—was 2,343.

El Al catered for 3,784 passengers, Malev figures disclose.

In February, Malev passengers to Tel Aviv totalled 2,669, and El Al's 4,396.

These figures mean about a 25-per-cent increase on this route compared to the corresponding period last year, Mr Urban said.

By suspending charter flights, Malev will lose about 55-60 per cent of their surplus sales returns, Mr Urban said.

Aeroflot Cooperation Requested

LD2203154690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Malev [Hungarian state airline] has requested that the Soviet airline Aeroflot not to transport Jewish emigres to Budapest. Earlier on Malev, as a result of a call by an extremist terrorist organization, immediately stopped carrying Soviet emigres to Israel. Last night the only plane to leave Ferihegy Airport for Tel Aviv was one carrying tourists; later a [word indistinct] flight also took off, also with foreign tourists bound for Israel.

Israel Requests Explanation

LD2303130890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Israel has requested an explanation from Hungary in connection with the fact that Malev has suspended its charter flights to Israel. Prime Minister Shamir voiced his concern at the decision. The spokesman for the Israeli head of government said that any concession made to terrorists only encourages them to increase their demands.

Gal on Efforts Against Balkan Drug Trafficking

AU2003131390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Acting Interior Minister Zoltan Gal by Gyula L. Ortutay; place and date not given: "Hungary Has Become A Transit Country for Drugs"]

[Text] The interior ministers of ten European countries—including Zoltan Gal of Hungary—signed a joint declaration in Rome on 17 March on the need to take coordinated steps against the flow of heroin into Western Europe through the so-called Balkan route, that is, through Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria.

[Ortutay] According to the Interpol, Hungarian authorities seized 27 kilograms of heroin in 1989. Has this justified our participation in the meeting in Rome?

[Gal] Both our foreign ministry and our embassy in Rome urged us to participate in this meeting even in the middle of election preparations in Hungary. This is the first time that the interior ministers of the affected ten European countries have gotten together to seek cooperation in this area. Drug trade has become international, and the fight against this phenomenon should also be an international one. The recently developing Italian-Hungarian political and trade relations also justified our presence in this Italian initiative, because it was Italian Foreign Minister Antonio Gava's idea to hold such a conference.

Hungary has become a transit country for drug traffic. So far, mostly various pharmaceutical products have been used in Hungary as drugs, and the spread of hard drugs is limited by a small demand due to costs.

The joint declaration of the aforementioned interior ministers formulated proposals on how to increase the efficiency of our cooperation. In short, three areas of activity have been discussed: cooperation in the organizational and technical methods of customs checking at the borders, avoiding a situation in which the control is carried out at each border crossing; requiring a regular and mutual exchange of information; and finally, an increase in the intelligence and surveillance activity aimed at facilitating the criminal investigation.This also requires a mutual exchange of information.

[Ortutay] Does cooperation that exceeds the national framework not require the previous agreement of individual parliaments?

[Gal] We are talking about a declaration of intentions which does not include legal obligation, although it does include certain moral and political obligations.

The issue of police and criminal investigation methods is an eternal problem, and a lot has been said about this here in Rome. Because of the waves of the recent Hungarian "Watergate" scandal, the Hungarian public would probably have reservations concerning the very natural proposals made by the interior ministers of the western democracies here in Rome. By this, I mean the so-called intelligence methods consistently used in discovering international criminal organizations, including the network of drug traffickers.

[Ortutay] Have you also discussed the issue of the two Hungarian drug couriers?

[Gal] No, it might seem apologetic, but I think this issue should have been brought up by someone else, not by us, because it was not our fault that, so far, the cooperation between the Hungarian and Italian police departments on this issue has not been in line with the stipulations of the recent declaration of intentions. I hope that the relations will develop in the spirit of this declaration even prior to the upcoming court appeal of the Hungarian citizens in question. Confidence is a basic condition for making sure that the cooperation intention agreed upon by the representatives of the interior ministries of the ten European countries does not end up in slogans, but has real and concrete results. Besides, we do have the organizational conditions necessary for cooperation, and a special group on drugs has been set up in Hungary as of 1 March.

[Ortutay] Have you held bilateral talks?

[Gal] Meeting with the Austrian interior minister, I discussed the refugee issue. I asked him to inform us in the future in time on their plans concerning the refugees from East Europe, including Romanian citizens. Their latest measures on requiring visas for Romanian citizens caused us serious trouble.

[Ortutay] This will probably be handled by the the new government following the elections on 25 March, just like carrying out the declaration of intentions on coordinating anti-drug measures.

[Gal] I am convinced that our participation in the international cooperation against drug abuse should not depend on a change in government. I can also add that such a bilateral agreement is being prepared with Italy.

The competent Hungarian bodies will finish studying the draft agreement by the beginning of April, at the latest. Italian Interior Minister Gava has a valid invitation to visit Hungary, and another meeting of the ten countries involved in the Balkan route is scheduled for May.

Finance Minister Bekesi Discusses Future Plans

AU2103133590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Mar 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Do Not Envy My Successor"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will the current ministers do after the expected government change? In our series, we publish today an interview with Laszlo Bekesi.

[Szep] Have the unpopular decisions caused you remorse?

[Bekesi] I had no illusions. Accepting the position of finance minister in an extremely tense economic situation is one of the most thankless tasks. I was aware of the fact that I would be a scapegoat sooner or later, because I would have to take a series of measures which are negative in the eyes of the public. It was a pity to think that we would need a crisis management. I thought I would still be able to carry out the three-year program. Otherwise, I would not have accepted this position. In a country struggling with bankruptcy, a finance minister works well if he is unpopular. The problem in Hungary is not simply the heritage of 40 years, but also the series of delays which, no matter how difficult, this government had to make up for. It had to do this in the middle of political changes during which, obviously, the political struggle makes increased use of all the errors. This is natural, because the parties want to create a mass basis for themselves by means of popular arguments. Finally, I began to reduce the amount of our debts, although everyone believes that this can be solved overnight. Both the new government and the population are in for a disappointment. We began settling our budget, reducing the subsidies, and reforming our state budget. A new hard currency regulation and customs and accounting system are under preparation, and these will be essential tasks in a year or two. I must admit that I have overestimated the possibilities.

[Szep] What will you do after the elections?

[Bekesi] I do not know, but it is almost certain that I will work in business, and not in the state administration.

[Szep] What advice would you give to your successor?

[Bekesi] None. Everyone who accepts this position should endure everything.

[Szep] What party's representatives would you prefer as a successor?

[Bekesi] Concerning their economic and financial concepts, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] are closest to my ideas. Their program is the most professional one, and this is not by accident, because the overwhelming majority of these people worked in this house. They recognized the fact that the so-called existing socialism cannot be reformed because it is nonviable. Instead, we need a normal and healthy market. What we call it is no longer an ideological issue.

[Szep] What can we expect from the new government?

[Bekesi] It is naive to believe that there will be a strong political consensus after the elections. I fear that the new government will not be able to implement the necessary bitter decisions they will have to make. Many governments will fall as a result, and many finance ministers will be unpopular. If things do not happen this way, however, the country will become bankrupt.

Construction Minister Derzsi on Future Plans

AU2203145990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Andras Derzsi, minister of transportation, telecommunication, and construction, by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Am Planning A Considerable Change"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will the current ministers do after the expected government change? In our series, today we publish an interview with Andras Derzsi.

Andras Derzsi was not a popular minister when he took over the Ministry of Transportation, Telecommunications, and Construction at the beginning of 1989, a ministry made up of two former ministries and the Hungarian Post. His first measures would have been to introduce a highway fee, but this plan failed in the wake of strong public opposition. At that time, people did not foresee a great future for 45-year-old Andras Derzsi, the youngest member of the government.

[Derzsi] In the first difficult months, we had to organize the new ministry. This also included a reduction in personnel, and today we are working with only 350 people, compared with the 700 before. There was not a single cent on the account of the new ministry, and we had to put money on this account, so we tried to introduce a highway fee. Today, the telephone is the major issue that affects almost everyone.

During the preparations of the 10-year telecommunications program, we expected tens of billions of forints from the budget each year. Today, we have the opportunity to carry this program out within three to five years, by making use of the foreign capital that gives priority to national interests, and by applying high technology. Thus, the program will cost more than 300 billion forints, with only 10 percent coming from the state budget. This is a real venture that needs management 24 hours a day, because this is a national issue. Concerning the number of telephones in Hungary, we are now on the level of the average European situation 15 years ago; by 1995, the waiting time for a telephone could be reduced to a few months.

[Szep] Almost every minister is an election candidate. Do you not have such ambitions?

[Derzsi] I did not collect election slips and I am not a member of any party. I prefer to deal with large-scale professional programs which contribute to Hungary's development, rather than with a political career and the power involved in this. We have started the privatization of MALEV and MAHART [Hungarian Air Lines and Hungarian Shipping Company], and our goal is to widen the market and to provide better services. We have also taken the first step toward reorganizing the MAV [Hungarian Railroads].

[Szep] What is the opinion of the parties concerning your plans?

[Derzsi] We coordinated our large-scale programs with the representatives of political organizations, and the new coalition government will hopefully not change our ideas; on the contrary, our work will only accelerate if we receive the IMF credit.

[Szep] I take it from your answers that you would gladly remain minister.

[Derzsi] When I accepted the position of minister, I already knew that I would not be in this position for long. It does not depend on me whether I remain or not. Naturally, mostly party politicians will become ministers in the new coalition government.

[Szep] How do you envisage your own future?

[Derzsi] If I have to change, I am planning a considerable change. Following a long period of public service, I will start a venture.

Pozsgay, Nyers on Upcoming Election Chances

LD2203232890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Laszlo Gardai report on news briefing by the Hungarian Socialist Party on 22 March; place not given]

[Excerpts] Imre Pozsgay is sure that only a coalition government can be formed. His evaluation of his party's chances is that increasing confidence will be enough for acquisition of one of the first four places. Rezso Nyers also expects better results than those predicted by the opinion polls. In his opinion, the lower limit is 10-11 percent, while in a better case, they could even attain 10-15 percent of the votes. [passage omitted]

Naturally, at the news briefing, there was also mention of the anti-Magyar actions in Romania. The foreign minister said there is proof that the Romanian police and soldiers passively watched when the Magyars were being assaulted. So far, Miklos Nemeth has not been able to get into contact with any Romanian leader, even despite the intercession of the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest.

The Reuter correspondent asked for a reply to an earlier statement by Jozef Antall [Hungarian Democratic Forum leader] from Imre Pozsgay, namely on the matter of whether he would undertake a position in the government after the elections. I would undertake such a commission from the national interest, in the case of a coalition resting on broad bases. We are open in every direction, apart from the extremes, said the minister of state. At the same time, he emphasized that he would not leave the Socialist Party in the interests of his personal career.

To the same question, Gyula Horn said that the party would decide about his future work, and this decision depends to a great degree on the results of the elections.

At the news conference, Imre Pozsgay was also asked whether he felt bitter about the present situation, where it is possible the party will be forced into opposition. Pozsgay said that that for which they have been fighting had been realized, that is, there will be democracy in Hungary. Compared to this, it is incidental what kind of role history now has for us. Thanks is not a political category; we build plans on programs. We are investing our political credit in the party, and this will be recompensed, concluded Imre Pozsgay.

Nemeth Interviewed on Elections, Policies

AU2203161890 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 17-19 Mar 90 p 7

[Bela Weyer/Christoph von Marschall report: "Nemeth: I Was Never a Communist"]

[Text] Monok—In the opinion of Premier Miklos Nemeth, the change in the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is not yet far-reaching enough. In an interview for SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, the head of government stated in his birthplace, Monok, that the big step that would have been required was not taken at the party congress last October—at that time the reformers around Nemeth, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and State Minister Imre Pozsgay, left the old communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and founded the MSZP. Nemeth said that a clear defeat in the elections, which would drive the MSZP into the opposition, is "very likely."

After the first free parliamentary elections in 40 years on 25 March, "a socialist or leftist social democratic party" would have to be created. Apparently, Nemeth prefers a more far-reaching reform of the MSZP—which "gives him much trouble"—to the establishment of a new party, as can be deduced from his answers to further inquiries: "I do not change my clothes so fast." With several social democratic splinter groups and the MSZP, the leftist party segment in Hungary is crowded at present. "I was never a communist," Nemeth stressed, "but I have always been attached to the ideas of the left in the European spirit."

Nemeth expressed satisfaction over the results of the more than 500 days of his government. He said that the opening to the West; the reforms in the Warsaw Pact and in the East Europe economic community, CEMA, which were based on Hungarian proposals; and the "new defense doctrine" with the implemented and planned troop reductions are the most important results. In addition, he pointed out the rehabilitation of the 1956 revolutionaries around Imre Nagy and the victims of the Stalinist show trials. "We wanted to change the model and we achieved a peaceful change of system, without blood or weapons," the premier stressed.

Nemeth indirectly assumed the responsibility for the fact that the opposition had been tapped by the security service until recently. "I reacted slowly to the domestic security policy; I feel responsible for this." The head of government—who has held the office of interior minister since Horvath resigned because of the "Danube Gate" affair—was commenting on the affair. [sentence as published: Hungarian monitor advises that Nemeth has not held this position, either officially or unofficially]

Nemeth seems to be especially proud that he pushed through the austerity budget required for the economic recovery against resistance within the MSZP and in Parliament. Shortly before Chancellor Kohl's visit to Hungary in December, Nemeth left the MSZP Presidium because he was annoyed at his party's behavior and threatened to resign if he were not to get a majority for the crisis budget. "I have reached my objective, that is, the agreement with the IMF." The IMF made further help for the country, which is $21 billion in debt, conditional on radical savings measures resulting in hardships for the population. "We made things clear by providing sincere information on debts and the budget, and the people rewarded our openness with their confidence."

Referring to his personal future, Nemeth said that he strives for a seat in parliament, but, "in addition," he can also envisage working in the international economic, financial, and banking world. He appealed to the politicians of all ideologies to subordinate party interests to the country's needs.

Alliance of Free Democrats Outlines Program

LD2203195890 Budapest MTI in English 1624 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] has summed up in twelve points the measures the party would immediately take if it gets into government. At the Alliance's campaign-closing press conference, acting president Janos Kis set out their programme of measures. As a first step, a government featuring the Free Democrats will 'restore the independence of the country, launch negotiations on accelerating the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, and propose parliament gives statutory effect to the November 1, 1956, statement of the Imre Nagy government on Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty.'

The programme envisages holding local elections in the autumn of 1990, withdrawing all self-defence weapons from private individuals, discharging all members of the internal counter-intelligence service, and establishing a politically unbiased police force. As regards the privatization of large companies, the programme declares that the AFD would put an immediate end to sham solutions which might benefit those apparatuses seeking to save their livelihood, but it would be in favour of Hungarian and foreign private capital playing a bigger role in the economy. The AFD will initiate that the signatory states to the Helsinki Final Act hold a meeting for remedying the grievances of the East European minorities, including the Hungarian minorities living beyond the country's borders.

In reply to a question, Mr Kis said the programme did not include the elimination of the country's debt stock, since this was not a short-term task. The AFD, he added, consider it of vital importance to maintain solvency, along with a decline in the debt stock. The AFD proposes selling Hungarian firms to foreign enterpreneurs at solid prices, and repaying debts from the funds raised that way, for instance.

Kis said the AFD had set up a parallel system of its own for summing up the results of the March 25 elections, following with attention the partial results, and publishing them continuously. Asked about the anti-Semitic attacks against the AFD, Kis said that racism existed in Hungary, like almost everywhere in the world. The AFD hopes that this kind of racism will not become a determining factor of the political public and the political party system, but will remain, as it was, a peripheral phenomenon. It was precisely during the anti-Semitic attacks, he said, that the popularity of the AFD increased the fastest and the Alliance set up a large number of provincial organizations, which today number 410.

Reacting to the bloody events in Romania, the AFD's executive body has sent a letter to the leaders of Austria, Britain, France, the FRG and the Soviet Union, asking them to take an immediate position in the interest of settling the conflict and preventing the Balkanization of the region.

The letter also calls on them to exert pressure on the Romanian Government to make every possible effort to protect the Romanian citizens belonging to the Hungarian nationality.

The AFD leaders presented the letters to the Budapest ambassadors of the states concerned.

It was announced that Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the FRG, would be arriving in Budapest on March 23, partly at the invitation of the AFD.

He will spend half of his brief visit at the AFD as a way of thanking the Alliance for the campaign it launched in the summer of 1989 to prevent the Hungarian authorities from stamping the travel documents of GDR citizens captured on the Hungarian-Austrian border. In this way, they were not subjected to punishment for attempting to escape.

Spanish politician Adolfo Suarez, who as prime minister directed the peaceful transition from Franco's dictatorship to a bourgeois democracy, will be coming to Budapest for the elections at the invitation of the Alliance.

* Parties on Election Prospects, First 100 Days

90EC0359A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Mar 90 p 5

[Article by Janos D. Kiss, Balazs Stepan, and Zsuzsa Szep: "MAGYAR HIRLAP Questions 'the Twelve': Election Chances and the New Government's Tasks"]

[Text] Our editorial office has posed three questions concerning election prospects and the most important tasks of the government during the initial months to leaders and representatives of the 12 parties which have qualified to establish a national slate for the 25 March elections. We present the answers provided by the various parties in the sequence established by the "party lottery" held on 27 February at an open session of the National Election Committee. The following persons responded on behalf of the various parties: Vice Chairman Ferenc Kulin for the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF); Chairman Gyula Fekete for the Hungarian People's Party [MNP]; Elections Office Director Janos Szabo for the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP); Election Campaign Chief Dr. Gyorgy Balogh for the Independent Smallholders, Agricultural Workers, and Citizens Party [FKgP]; national press liaison Zoltan Lovas for the Association of Young Democrats (FIDESZ); Managing Director Miklos Haraszti for the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ); Chairman Tibor Szabo for the Entrepreneurs' Party [EP]; National Presidium member Bela Katona for the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP); Elections Office Chief Dr. Laszlo Filipsz for the Agrarian Alliance [AA]; Chairman Laszlo Asztalos for the Patriotic Election Coalition [HVK]; Chairman Sandor Keresztes for the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]; and press liaison Sandor Csurdi for the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP].

How Do You View Your Party's Chances in the Elections?

MDF: We will significantly increase our advantage as compared to the latest public opinion poll results. This statement is based on preliminary indications which show that those wavering today, the uncertain, are attracted to the MDF program. Accordingly I expect the MDF to receive more than 30 percent of the vote. Not only will we preserve our leading role, we will also increase our advantage.

MNP: For the time being it's a toss-up. Since the closing of nominations the MNP has doubled its number of followers. There is a chance that its following will triple in the remaining two weeks.

MSZMP: The renewed MSZMP does not make irresponsible promises. Our four watchwords are: work, making a living, security, and freedom. We trust that the populace will understand what we want, and that it agrees with our proclaimed watchwords and trusts our party. We believe that we will receive less than 50 percent, but more than five percent of the vote, and that we will be capable of becoming the definitive force of the left-wing parliamentary opposition.

FKgP: I count on the fact that my party's representatives will receive 29 percent of the vote. Within that, 94 persons will be elected in the countryside and five in Budapest from individual voting districts and slates, while 17 will be elected from the national slate, for a total of 116 members of the National Assembly.

FIDESZ: Public opinion polls and our own experience show that we will receive about seven percent of the vote. Our election goal of coming out ahead of the MSZP appears to be becoming a reality. The most important result of the campaign is that we have succeeded in dissolving maligning and misleading rumors spread by the MSZMP and its successors, as well as by their allies, about FIDESZ. Our party represents a radical departure from the past, but it is not an extremist party. The party upholds humanist, democratic, and liberal values.

SZDSZ: Most certainly, the SZDSZ is one of the most significant parties in the country today. This was our goal just a few months ago. But by now we are saying that we will be among the top three in the elections, and we would find the results very negative if we were to come out worse than second place. Quite naturally, we would like to become the number one party in the country.

EP: Let's start out with the fact that we have succeeded in establishing slates in 13 counties, and that we have 63 candidates for representative. We are counting on the election of seven or nine of these. But even if only five are elected we will have accomplished the goal we established four months ago; this would be a great achievement considering the fact that never before has the entrepreneurial stratum had a representative in Parliament.

MSZP: The MSZP election results will surprise those who measure success in terms of an absolute majority, and those who have tried to discredit us and write us off during the past five months. During the past few weeks an increasing number of voters recognize the fact that this is truly a new party. In a campaign which has been resounding of demagoguery, the public is discovering behind our low-profile approach a well-founded, realistic program of restructuring, a staff of the best experts, trustworthiness and a growing determination. Using this as the starting point, I believe that we will be among the three strongest parties.

AA: It does not make much sense to ponder the chances, but, quite naturally, one cannot avoid doing so. We are optimistic insofar as our own prospects are concerned, but we do not harbor exaggerated illusions. From our standpoint, exceeding the four-percent threshold is the minimum task. We are definitely counting on doing so. We are also counting on a more significant ratio of our candidates entering Parliament. We would like to acquire 20 mandates, and we are confident that we will do so.

HVK: The election coalition started out with the purpose of becoming the fourth largest parliamentary group. Let us not discuss percentages. We are hopeful, however, that we will be able to send to Parliament at least 30, and under favorable circumstances 50, representatives.

KDNP: I am not dissatisfied! Our party has overcome many, many concerns. So much so that even under adverse press coverage, we have 104 candidates running in the elections. Moreover, according to the latest information provided by public opinion researchers, we may succeed in acquiring eight to 10 percent. My satisfaction is also due to the fact that, as we have announced a number of times, we are thinking in the long term, and I feel that we have established a solid base for our policies.

MSZDP: According to our present estimates we feel that we may count on the support of 10 percent of the electorate. This ratio may improve, however, during the remaining days of the campaign.

What Is Your View of the Other Parties' Election Prospects?

MDF: One can no longer expect great surprises! The situation is unchanged in that the Free Democrats and the Smallholders will finish in the lead, but after us. But I am not willing to make predictions regarding their results.

MNP: The results shown by the rest of the parties are likely to deviate significantly from the ratios reflected by the number of regional slates and nominations. It is apparent that the bloc of parties representing national progression will be the largest force after the elections, but signs indicate that there will not be a large enough force—mostly as a result of uncertain actions taken by the MDF—to permit governance on solid foundations.

MSZMP: The spread will be great; we do not believe that any one of the parties will be capable of acquiring an absolute majority. It is hard to make predictions in regard to coalitions. One party believes that it will be able to govern by itself, but I do not believe so. On the other hand, many parties will fail as a result of the four-percent threshold. I would think that the coalition of two or three parties will govern.

FKgP: In regard to the other parties' chances, I believe that FIDESZ will have seven percent, the SZDSZ 14 percent, the MDF 21 percent, and the MSZDP and MSZP eight percent, while the remaining 18 percent will be shared by the rest.

FIDESZ: The SZDSZ, the Smallholders Party, and the MDF are the three largest parties. These are of an approximately equal strength; they may end up as equals with between 18 and 20 percent. The SZDSZ is strong in the cities, while the Smallholders are particularly strong in the villages; it is conceivable that they will receive more mandates in individual voting districts than the MDF. Despite this fact, due to political constraints, the three large parties will have to form a government. The next level consists of FIDESZ and the MSZP. The two parties may acquire between seven and 10 percent of the mandates. To be or not to be is the issue insofar as the remaining parties are concerned. In our view, the MSZP, the MSZMP, the HVK, and the AA were recruited from the former state party.

SZDSZ: The MDF and FKgP are expected to place somewhere in the first three positions. The chances of the other parties cannot, or can barely, be measured, because of the complexity of election laws. Most certainly however, the MSZP will have a less than 10 percent share of Parliament, presumably the MNP will not surpass the four-percent threshold, and the MSZMP will end up somewhere near the threshold. At the same time, some of the remaining parties will not reach the four-percent threshold, while another part will end up with between four and 10 percent.

EP: The SZDSZ, the MDF, the FKgP, and the MSZP will be in the lead with approximately equal chances, but not necessarily in this order. Immediately after them we may find the MSZDP and FIDESZ. An additional two or three parties showing average results is conceivable, but from there on one can hardly engage in stipulations.

MSZP: In regard to the chances of other parties we are undergoing an equalizing process. In part this is a result of the fact that strategies which built exclusively on the negation of the earlier situation are beginning to lose steam, and people sense the absence of realistic responses to their daily concerns. On the other hand, the excessive aggressiveness which is uncommon in Hungary creates adverse feelings in an increasing number of people. Certain extremist manifestations by parties which regard themselves as winners—manifestations which create fear in many—turn some of the voters toward smaller parties whose programs can be followed more easily. For this reason five to six parties will acquire a substantial number of representative mandates in the new Parliament.

AA: Although voters may still present surprises, the actual power relations are beginning to emerge slowly. The MDF, the SZDSZ, and the FKgP stand out in the field. These three may count on more or less similar, 20 percent proportions of the vote. The MSZMP is expected to end up in fourth place, but in such a close race with the MSZDP, the HVK, and FIDESZ that the sequence may turn out in any way. These parties are more difficult to figure out. Their share of the vote may be between eight and 12 percent, or perhaps even somewhat higher. Surprises may originate from the MSZP and from FIDESZ. Up or down, either way. The remaining four parties, other than ourselves of course, may have a problem even with surpassing the four-percent "threshold." The KDNP has the best chance of doing so, but in theory one cannot rule out this possibility in regard to any party.

HVK: I believe that there will be two parties which finish with 20-25 percent. I expect another three parties to end up with between 10 and 20 percent, including ourselves. Many of the small parties may drop out because they will not have surpassed the four-percent threshold.

KDNP: In the rivalry between the two large parties—the MDF and the SZDSZ—the MDF will be victorious, in my view. And of course the results to be shown by the FKgP should not be underestimated either. In dissecting this subject one must not disregard that people will not vote for someone, but will instead vote against someone. Well, in the view of Christian Democrats it is not appropriate for certain persons aspiring for power to even stress this matter.

MSZDP: In my view the FKgP has the best chance, so much so that they may acquire a 30-percent, or an even higher, ratio. Historical traditions are very strong, and in addition the land issue is acquiring an ever increasing significance these days. Farming units based on the farmer [as published] concept may evolve if the land ownership issue is settled the way the Smallholders want, and this would also improve the opportunities of the unemployed. A large part of the electorate pins its expectations on the Smallholders for this reason.

What Do You Expect To Happen During the First 100 Days of the New Government?

MDF: First of all, local elections must be held in the next three months. If we govern—a matter I have confidence in—the confused circumstances we inherit must be clarified; an accurate inventory must be prepared as to what exists and what are the possibilities; after all we must compare our program with the given situations which are not well known as of this moment. Quite naturally, the initial months must not be without firm decisions, for example, inefficient plants must simply be shut down. Well then, we discussed government administration and the economy, but of at least as great an importance is the fact that legislative work must begin with at least as much energy. For example, that inactivity, which hurts the public's sense of justice the most, is what forces the new parliament and government to regulate clearly the settling of accounts with the past. In other words, to rehabilitate those without sins, and to hold responsible those found guilty. This must take place during the initial 100 days.

MNP: The forced policy of indebtedness which has been going on for long years is catastrophic. It renders the country increasingly dependent year after year, and day after day. Although it is hardly conceivable that drifting toward the brink may be stopped during the first 100 days, it can be slowed down. And by the end of the year perhaps our fall may also be blocked; it is inconceivable that the world will return the Hungarian people's catalyst role in a wonderful turnaround in world history by passively allowing this country to be humiliated, to be disembowled, and to be totally destroyed. A country which accepts the crimes and damaging negligent acts of the past. Part of this would be the immediate relief from duty of the financial lobby, and the reform of the world's most reactionary, most anti-family, and most non-performance oriented income taxation system. We must stand up against the epidemic of self-destruction, and against alcohol, crime, moral decay, and the destruction of morality. We must establish the institution of "motherhood as a primary occupation," and must introduce pension payments and pension supplements to compensate for motherhood.

MSZMP: The new government should try to work in a staid manner, so as to preserve public order. Neither the winning nor the losing parties should endanger peace in society. The country's people yearn for peace and security. We expect the new government to analyze the situation in a staid manner, and we expect it to slow down inflation, and begin the restoration of the economy.

FKgP: The most important task that confronts the government during its initial 100 days is the assurance of an undisturbed transition. Thereafter inflation must be halted, followed by the settlement of the shortcomings of the local autonomy law, the land law, and the privatization law, and within that the law on business organizations. Action necessary to normalize the economy must be taken.

FIDESZ: In FIDESZ' judgment the Nemeth government is leaving behind a mass of bankruptcy far larger than the size it admits. It cannot reveal the truth, because in doing so it would deprive the MSZP of its last chance. The magnitude of bankruptcy is such that the economy may be shaken in its foundations. The first task of the new government taking office will be to assess the situation, and this will take a long time. The opposition had no previous opportunity to obtain accurate information from the government. The first 100 days will be spent with the government taking an inventory of the mass of bankruptcy.

SZDSZ: It is difficult to rank the tasks because the need calls for economic, political, and legislative action. In the economic area, obtaining the confidence of the international world of money and credit, and of potential investors, is most important. In the realm of politics, the majority of the Hungarian populace which supports the government must be able to continuously recognize that the promises made during the elections and the program are becoming a reality. Beyond this the most important task is the development of the law on autonomous government, the establishment of the market system and the institutions for privatization, and last but not least the establishment and formulation of social security institutions. Our main endeavor at that time, just as it is today and will be in the future, will be to change the system.

EP: I am concerned that following the elections to the National Assembly there will be no new government at all for 100 days or even for a longer period of time. Let us not forget that the establishment of a coalition government may be accompanied by lengthy negotiations and party fights. Everything will depend on the given situation when in the end there is a responsible government. It will depend upon how our indebtedness evolves by then, because the management of that situation is of first class importance. Then the presumably quickly mounting unemployment will require quick, firm action, and then inflation must be stopped. Along with all of this, structural transformation must begin. Another governmental task that cannot be delayed is the review of the budget, to find where cuts can be made and where unnecessary expenditures can be discontinued.

MSZP: First of all we expect the government to be able to survive the first 100 days. This will be no small accomplishment in and of itself. During the learning period there should be abstention from ad hoc intervention, thus ensuring that at least the existing system functions. Nevertheless, I definitely expect action in regard to a few matters. The escape of the specialized apparatus must be stopped. Continuity in foreign relations must be ensured. Confidence by the World Bank and by other creditors must be maintained at least at the present level. The laws still needed for the control of privatization must be completed, and the law on autonomous government must be developed. A sudden leap in inflation must be prevented. A decision must be reached in regard to the World's Fair.

AA: We are developing firm concepts in every field of endeavor—economy, social security, culture, etc—summarizing the needs and interests whose realization we would expect, even demand from every government. As far as the program for the first 100 days is concerned, we would like to see this time spent with the sober consideration of matters; we would not like to see it become a period of legislation accomplished in the ecstasy of victory, irrespective of who takes power. During this period we particularly recommend that the new power, the new government, follow Prime Minister Gyula Andrassy's program: "No foolish things should be done."

HVK: Whether we must count on a small coalition or a large coalition in the course of formulating a government is very important. I clearly favor the latter, because our party is interested only in such a coalition. In this way it would be of decisive significance for the new government to take steps during the first month which bring about fundamental changes in at least the 20 to 25 most important fields of life. In other words: Reprivatization and renationalization concepts must be developed, and later the regulation of these by law must be accomplished. The matter of social security and housing management must be reconsidered. In addition, it would be very important for the government to have a firm idea in regard to the land issue and the producer cooperatives, as well as regarding the gradual discontinuation of losing enterprises. All of this is indispensable so that it may suddenly become apparent in the country that a fundamentally different system exists, and that the mentality has changed. This is what the parties must prepare themselves for, to join all progressive forces so that the government receives the appropriate support to accomplish the rapid and tangible changes. Because if these changes do not take place in the first 30, but at most 60 days, the natural euphoria of a beginning may come to an end, and the government may fall into the mold of everyday concerns, and disintegrate thereafter.

KDNP: Just how the first 100 days of government will be, and what it will do, depends of course upon how the government itself is. The most important thing is that at the price of various compromises it must create an economic program which the future Parliament will accept. This will legitimize the new government. Until such time I would not find it inconceivable for the present acting government to cooperate with the new government for a while.

MSZDP: The new government must first of all reduce the burden on the populace. Here I am thinking of the discontinuation of the tax on interest, and the cutting in half of water and sewage fees. And further, food prices must be reduced, so that agricultural buying up prices may rise. This may occur by eliminating the wholesale monopolies which skim the profits. Reaching a settlement relative to pensions benefit payments below the existential minimum cannot be delayed. And the government should clearly and firmly commit itself to organizing the World's Fair, which represents the realization of important investments and the amelioration of unemployment. All in all, it must be proven to the country in a hundred days that the new government is capable of making substantive decisions, and commitments must be made to settle some delicate and difficult issues.

* Problems With Nominating Process Detailed

* Guidance for Nominations

25000652A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jan 90 p 6

[Interview with Mrs. Szilagyi, Dr. Zsuzsa Farkas, official in the Interior Ministry Elections Office, by Lajos Bodnar, place and date not given: "Election Digest: To Whom, For What, and For How Long Can Nominating Slips Be Submitted"]

[Text] Competition for representative mandates among the parties began with the call for elections, but the campaign truly swung into its qualitatively new phase with the delivery of notices of voter registration/nominating slips. This week they also began collecting the nominating slips. In order to help readers find their way through the election law, we are publishing today a brief review of some public interest issues related to the nomination of representatives. Interior Ministry elections office associate Mrs. Szilagyi, Dr. Zsuzsa Farkas, provided help in reporting the legal provisions.

According to initial reports the populace is rather highly uninformed about nominating slips. It is no secret: In certain places an actual race to obtain nominating slips is taking place. News reports tell us about small and large abuses, and one can also hear that on the free market nominating slips are being sold for between 2,000 and 3,000 forints, or for even more. At the same time there are signs that many citizens concerned about harassment would prefer to place a sign on their door saying that they have already handed in their nominating slips.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What should citizens know about the nomination of candidates and about the nominating slip itself?
[Farkas] First of all, they should know that candidates for representative may be nominated only with the "nominating slips" delivered earlier as part of the notice of voter registration. Accordingly, it would be advisable to carefully safeguard them, because they cannot be replaced if they are lost or destroyed. The voter decides exclusively whom he wishes to support, be it an independent candidate or a party nominee. It is advisable to read the brief information provided on the reverse side of the slip carefully, because a candidate may be nominated only by handing in the slip. But the question is this: What should the citizen do? Should he wait until they come to see him, or should he mail the slip in?

All the law provides is that citizens must not be harassed while collecting nominating slips. The meaning of this provision obviously must be established in practice. In any event, ever since 24 January, persons authorized by parties and by independent candidates have been allowed to visit citizens at their homes to convince them to support one or another candidate. But groups may be formed spontaneously for similar action, and the law does not rule out the possibility that parties may collect the slips needed to nominate a candidate in boxes displayed at public places.

The authenticated nominating slips of at least 750 citizens eligible to vote are needed to nominate a representative. Each nominating slip may support only one candidate within the district of the voter's residence. Accordingly, a resident of Budapest cannot make a valid nomination for a representative running in Mateszalka. And each candidate may run in only one individual election district. The fact that their names may also appear on a regional or national party slate is yet another question, of course.

Our election law is making its debut to the public; not only the electorate, but also professionals are of the opinion that this is far from being a simple matter. On 25 March some 176 representatives will be elected from individual voting districts, while the fate of 152 mandates will be decided at the county level, and the fate of 58 will be decided on the basis of results achieved on national slates. (In regional voting districts only those parties and social organizations qualifying as parties may run candidates which are successful in nominating candidates in a sufficient number of individual voting districts. This number is specified in the appendix to the law. Only those parties are entitled to run candidates on national slates which are able to establish at least seven regional slates.)

The law provides a month for the gathering of nominating slips. The collection effort is obviously a more urgent task for parties running in the elections than for citizens, nevertheless a citizen may wait with the handing in of the nominating slip until he becomes familiar with the platforms of all parties running in the elections. Quite naturally, one cannot rule out the possibility that a person may make a decision earlier, just as one cannot rule out the possibility that in response to the election campaign a voter may make a different decision in the end, at the ballot box. The election committees having jurisdiction will decide who may be officially regarded as a candidate based on the nominating slips received.

* Rules for Blank Slips

25000652A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Jan 90 p 5

["Fictional interview" written by Lajos Bodnar: "Election Digest: Blank Slips on the Ethical Scale"]

[Text] We continue to sift through the things that should be known regarding nominating slips. At this time we will call attention to a few prohibitions, and to the requirements of the ethical code of elections.

[Question] In what places is the collection of nominating slips prohibited?

[Answer] In order to avoid the harassment of citizens the law takes the position that nominating slips must not be collected during working hours or at armed forces installations during on-duty hours; similar prohibitions have been expressed in regard to means of public transportation, and collection may not be pursued in health care facilities. The nominating process is open, but we feel that one may expect all those involved to abide by the rules applicable to the protection of data. (The nominating slips must be destroyed 90 days after the elections.)

[Question] Is it permissible to request payment for nominating slips?

[Answer] Experience shows that this can be done, but it is not permissible. This may be regarded as a serious abuse. For the sake of the purity of elections the nominating slips must not become the subjects of buying and selling. Offering payment for nominating slips, asking for payment, or paying for nominating slips is prohibited. Upon special request, the election committee may check the authenticity of nominations.

[Question] What can a person who did not receive a notice of voter registration/nominating slip do?

[Answer] The voter registration list can never be perfect; it can never reflect an up-to-date situation which takes into account changes that have occurred in the meantime. For this reason, whoever objects to having failed to receive a notice of voter registration/nominating slip may turn to the executive committee secretary of his local council beginning next Monday. But the list of names posted at councils may also provide guidance. If rejected, such persons may seek legal recourse in courts.

[Question] What does the ethical code of elections prohibit?

[Answer] Many regard nominations as tantamount to primary elections. Because after all, the nominating process demonstrates the mass support that one or another candidate or party enjoys. Let us not forget that about 50 parties may compete for representative mandates! But an election can hardly be won by accumulating nominating slips. Accordingly, one should welcome the decision made by the significant parties running in the elections to abstain in the course of collecting nominating slips from any activity which could disturb the private lives of voters. They are opposed to the self-serving, competition-like collection of nominating slips. But it would not hurt for whoever experiences such action to know that the signatory parties to the ethical code have also committed themselves to investigating violations of ethical rules committed in their interest, and that the culprits will be called to account and their authorization revoked.

We are unable to relate everything about nominating slips, of course. Several issues concerning legal interpretation remain to be clarified. On the other hand, one thing may have become apparent from what has been said thus far: Nominations represent an important element of exercising the right to vote, particularly because the nominating process may render the voter an active participant in the political process at the beginning of the campaign.

* Complaint Resolution

25000652A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Feb 90 p 6

[Lajos Bodnar article: "Election Digest: To Whom To Complain ..."]

[Text] Nominating slips are gathering at the parties' gates, but so are complaints. This newspaper is reporting "Blue Slip" abuses from the Stormy Corner [as published]; we can hear about small or large local excesses on the radio, and read about such matters in county newspapers. This is true even though we are only at the stage of nominating candidates.

In such instances, the voter not yet familiar with multiparty elections for representatives asks to whom we should complain. Thus, even unwillingly he will suspect that a local scandal exists behind one or another puzzling news item. On occasion, groundless charges of abuse may be heard because certain details of the campaign have not been regulated.

In one place they objected to the fact that schoolchildren were collecting nominating slips. In other places they asked questions about guarantees regarding to the actual delivery of the nominating slips to the addressee. Some people are concerned that the nominating slips will be destroyed, others worry that they will perhaps be publicized.... But irrespective of whether such complaints are well-founded or not, anyone may assert a right to have his complaint judged without bias, by independent forums, in the interest of the purity of the elections.

The election law provides for the satisfaction of this need. It states that the primary place to seek legal remedy to grievances is at the local level, in local election offices. Whoever is rejected at the local level may turn to the courts.

Persons omitted from the list of registered voters may seek remedy at the executive committee secretary of the local council. But judicial review may also be sought in regard to council decisions, at the county level. Courts will hear a complainant personally, and will render decisions within three days.

Affected parties most often turn to election committees regarding violations of the election law. The decisions of these committees are also subject to review by the Budapest and county courts. But not even the decisions of the National Election Committee may be regarded as final; those decisions may be appealed to the Supreme Court.

In the event that a violation of laws is confirmed, such decisions may affect the substantive outcome of the elections. In such cases the courts will void the decisions rendered by the election organs, and will order a repetition of the election or parts of the election that were objected to. In more serious cases, criminal proceedings may be initiated for crimes committed against the orderly conduct of elections.

Forums to ensure legality have recently been supplemented: Signatories to the elections code of ethics have agreed to investigate ethical rule violations committed in their favor. Thus a citizen may turn to the party involved with his complaint.

* Flaws in Nominating Process

25000652A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Feb 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Dr. Tibor Csiba, chief of the Interior Ministry elections office, by Lajos Bodnar; place and date not given: "Election Digest: To Collect or To Criticize?"]

[Text] Along with many issues that are important from the standpoint of the political transition, the notices of voter registration/nominating slips were promoted to become the most highly debated problem at the latest national summit. We asked Dr. Tibor Csiba, chief of the Interior Ministry elections office, why the collection of nominating slips became such a sensitive issue halfway through the campaign.

[Csiba] In the democratic half of the world they have already instituted general, equal, direct, and secret elections. Our election system belongs among those systems. On the other hand, the method by which a candidate becomes a nominee is different in the various regions and countries of this earth. If we wanted to find a perfect solution we would actually have to hold two elections: one general, direct, and secret election for the purpose of nominating candidates, and then another general, direct, and secret election to choose from among the nominees for the acquisition of representative seats in Parliament—the mandates. But one may ask: Who has the money and energy for all of this?

Accordingly, they are looking for a solution everywhere. Our nominating process comes closest perhaps to the West German process. Also in West Germany, voters nominate candidates by way of nominating slips. They do so in the same way, also revealing their personal data. Thus, the view which holds that there is nowhere else in the world where they recognize a process like this is erroneous. Statements like this were made by parties that were present at the national summit. During the past four decades the only way in which candidates were nominated was through nominating conventions, but that method did not withstand the test of criticism. It did not work out, either, from a legal or a political point of view. The proposal which established the present method of nominating candidates became the solution which deserves recognition, as a result of the political conciliatory negotiations. This method could hardly be questioned a few weeks before the elections, in the midst of the campaign. One cannot simply cast it aside. A decision of this kind could prevent even the holding of elections. Nominating slips by all means strengthen the authenticity of the nomination of candidates, and at the same time increase the electorate's sense of responsibility, even if they do not constitute the perfect solution.

* Recognition, Popularity of Leading Politicians

90EC0361A Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Mar 90 pp 1, 7

[Agnes Bokor article: "Who May Expect to Receive a Blank Check from Voters? Opposition Politicians are Not Sufficiently Well Known; Public Opinion Research on Popularity"]

[Excerpts] The parties' ability to present personalities who enjoy confidence, or who at least appear to be worthy of an advance grant of confidence, may significantly influence the chances of these parties in the upcoming elections. This is why data reflecting the popularity of politicians is becoming of increasing interest. In this instance the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute provided data in this regard. And just as we did two weeks ago, this analysis is also published with the interpretation of, and supplementary commentary by, political scientist Mihaly Bihari.

At first glance, data reflecting the popularity of politicians amounts to no more than numbers between the theoretically possible minimum (0) and maximum (100).

It is of concern, however, that there is little knowledge about the peculiar nature of this data, and about the social and social-psychological mechanisms behind this data. Thus, readers of public opinion polls do not recognize anything but the piquant aspects of the matter, while parties and politicians either underestimate or overestimate their significance.

Accordingly, before examining the data we must take a small detour to learn the most fundamental points:

(1) The number of points will never reach the theoretically possible extreme values; in a vast majority of instances they will range between 20 and 80.
(2) The center of this scale is really at 50 points (this has been proven by methodical experiments), and this value expresses indifference.
(3) One may talk about clear-cut support above 70 points, and about dislike below 40 points.
(4) A difference of between three and four points means a real difference, while a difference of between one or two points represents at most an advance indication of a future change.

In viewing the point numbers which express support, we should consider the fact that in general the granting of even, high grades are characteristic of villagers, persons of lower educational levels, and politically inexperienced people, while persons residing in larger settlements, holders of diplomas, and people intensely interested in politics usually have more discerned views and assign relatively lower grades. On the other hand, an opposite effect results from the fact that for the time being there are huge differences in the extent of public knowledge about the main political actors at the national level (between 80 and 90 percent of the people are willing to express judgment concerning the personality of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] leading figures, while in the case of opposition politicians a 50-percent ratio is exceptional). The lower a person's social status, the fewer people he will judge, but whatever judgments he makes will be generally favorable. As a result of this fact, the few who have been present in high level politics for a longer period of time still enjoy an advantage. One must also not forget that the inaccurate scale of familiarity by the public is actually the ratio of persons willing to make judgments. It may happen both with regard to persons familiar or unfamiliar in politics that they are willing to "grade" a barely known person, while they would not assign a grade to a well-known person, but the reasons for this, and thus the consequences, are not identical.

Accordingly, as a result of all of this, the final results shown in the popularity index are relatively uniform: They vary between 40 and 60 points in regard to the politicians of the parties of the lower, the middle, and the upper classes. In general, this much difference does not exist in the popularity index of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], which attracts mostly those of a higher social status, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], which is overwhelmingly liked by the middle class, and the politicians of the Social Democrats and of the Smallholders, which bear mainly on workers and peasants. The judgment expressed by Hungarian public opinion becomes differentiated, and reacts in a sensitive manner to those whose actual political involvement is known to be in the center of society—i.e. mainly by members of the MSZMP. Several opposition figures are truly popular, but only within narrow strata: among members of the intelligentsia and among their own party followers.

Hungary does not have a Walesa or a Havel, thus a good part of the people have nothing to hang on to, a matter that would facilitate a choice between the parties in the elections. A large part of the people regard politics as primarily depending on persons, and thus they also form judgments concerning parties based on their respective leaders—or rather: They would like to judge these parties by their respective leaders if they were known. One person, Zoltan Kiraly, had a chance to act as the person symbolizing the opposition along with the popular politicians of the MSZMP, and later with MSZP politicians, but thus far he has been unable or unwilling to take advantage of this opportunity. Hungary does not have a charismatic politician whom people would accept even if he sincerely and realistically promised blood, sweat, and tears for the upcoming years. Perhaps not too long ago there was, or perhaps could have been, one like this in the person of Imre Pozsgay, and the broad masses which favor clear talk blame him today for having let go of the historical moment.

At present Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn are most liked. But in examining the background of this attitude we find that one may not make strong assumptions that their political capital accumulated in the form of confidence is inexhaustible. The populace likes the prime minister this much, despite the fact that they are dissatisfied with the workings of the government and are opposed to many actions taken by the government. Once again, this paradox may be explained by the base of comparison: They regard the head of government as an outstanding politician when compared to, and in comparison with, his predecessor, one who manages to direct a country whose situation they regard as critical. By granting high grade points to Gyula Horn, people not only reward the foreign policy measures regarded as joyful events by many, but they also express their feeling that they consider the country's foreign policy to be in much better shape than its domestic policy conditions.

Imre Pozsgay received the highest grade in the summer of 1988 when the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute was first to start measuring the popularity of politicians. This remained unchanged for a year. A year ago in March the rating of Miklos Nemeth and Zoltan Kiraly reached Pozsgay's level. For a while the head of government and the state minister went head-to-head; thereafter their popularity index took off in opposite directions. Toward the end of the year the prime minister had surpassed Pozsgay by 14 points, and early this year by 24 points. People explain this remarkable change by saying that "previously they had trusted Pozsgay, but then they became disappointed." In trying to solve this puzzle we must assume that people expected more from the person whom they perceived to be the sole politician in the final days of Kadarism who promised radical changes, and of whom one may have surmised that he held sufficient power to realize those changes. The fact that the MSZP was unable to rid itself of its successor party character and a few political events—the wiretapping scandal and the internal and external conflicts of Hungarian Television—obviously contributed to Pozsgay's declining popularity. He was forced to make excuses for himself, and thus appeared in an unfavorable light. (The same can also be seen in the evolution of Rezso Nyers' popularity index.) But still, the dramatic reduction in Pozsgay's popularity must not be credited to his recent actions, but instead to things he did not do: Increased expectations and the emergence of strong competitors led to reduced confidence on the part of the populace, whereas Pozsgay's political style and direction has not changed.

Some time ago, Hungarian public opinion gave a vote of confidence to Karoly Grosz, both as general secretary, (compared to the late Janos Kadar), as well as president (basking in the light of Gyorgy Lazar's last period). From the beginning of 1989, the sympathy of the public was starting to flag for him, so much so that by the fall it turned to antipathy. (Something similar happened to Janos Berecz, who never succeeded in establishing a separate identity; his popularity index always followed, with a slight delay, that of Grosz.) Even before the party split the public had been able to distinguish between conservative communist and reform communist representatives of the party state, and both opposition and communist sympathizers sided with the later. The glaringly low points received by Grosz and Berecz can be explained both as criticism of the past and by the fact that they are leaders of the most unpopular party. (The majority of those asked which party was the most distasteful will reply: the MSZMP.)

The public does not really know the leaders of the more important opposition parties very well, either. (For example, the public knows who the following opposition leaders are only in the percentages indicated: Istvan Prepeliczay, 4 percent; Anna Petrasovits, 19 percent; Viktor Orban, 27 percent; Miklos Tamas Gaspar, 33; and Lajos Fur, 40 percent.) [passage omitted]

None of the three parties commanding the largest voting base, the MDF, the SZDSZ, and Independent Smallholders Party, have leading figures who could represent their parties unequivocally in the public mind. (Recognizing this shortcoming, the Free Democrats have tried to run candidates who, even though political amateurs, are famous personalities, e.g.: actors, etc.)

In conclusion then, the maturing process of Hungarian public opinion can be traced through its relationship to politicians. But even in this regard, we are still a long way from the end; in a few weeks all of the parties—perhaps with the exception of the MSZP and MSZMP—are going to receive a blank check from those voters who now share the widespead belief that any improvement in the country's economic situation, political structure and the democratization process is going to depend on good leadership.

Early 1990 Popularity Index of Certain Party Leaders Among Persons Who:

	Are certain about going to vote	Know the party to which given politicians belong	Do not know to which party given politicians belong	Wish to vote for the party of the given politicians
Lajos Fur	68	70	58	79
Karoly Grosz	23	20	33	46
Rezso Nyers	49	45	51	66
Viktor Orban	54	53	50	69
Anna Petrasovits	56	55	54	60
Istvan Prepeliczay	41	50	40	52
Miklos Tamas Gaspar	65	67	55	78

Changing Popularity of Certain Politicians in Time

	Percent ratio of persons willing to express an opinion			Popularity point rating 0-100		
	Late 1988	Late 1989	Early 1990	Late 1988	Late 1989	Early 1990
Janos Berecz	88	86	86	72	43	34
Lajos Fur	—	43	58	—	57	65
Karoly Grosz	96	93	93	70	32	22
Gyula Horn	—	76	86	—	71	81
Zoltan Kiraly	—	83	82	—	73	75
Miklos Nemeth	68	94	94	66	82	79
Rezso Nyers	80	92	87	69	63	47
Viktor Orban	—	32	39	—	50	52
Anna Petrasovits	—	31	32	—	59	55
Imre Pozsgay	88	94	92	76	68	55
Istvan Prepeliczay	—	13	13	—	42	43
Matyas Szuros	—	89	88	—	71	68
Miklos Tamas Gaspar	—	21	55	—	53	62

Roundup of Mazowiecki's Talks With Bush

LD2203095990 Warsaw PAP in English 2340 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Washington, March 21—"America wants to help Poland succeed...in any decisions affecting the fate of Poland, Poland must have a voice," U.S. President George Bush said here today in his speech welcoming Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in front of the White House.

"We are coming here to talk, above all, about the future, about the future of Polish-American political cooperation in the face of momentous changes in the heart of Europe, about the future of Polish-American economic cooperation so vital in our building an economy based on free enterprise," Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in reply.

These words of the U.S. President and the Polish premier uttered at the beginning of their meeting in the White House, during a colourful arrival ceremony in the White House garden, can be regarded as a leitmotif of the historic visit which is opening a broad and constructive dialogue on the top level between the forces of democracy and reform ruling in Poland and those of the greatest democracy and super-power of the Western world.

The signing of a "Treaty on Trade and Economic Relations", between Poland and the U.S. whose aim is to create conditions favourable for U.S. private investment in Poland, was an important event of the second day of Mazowiecki's visit. President Bush and Premier Mazowiecki signed the document to stress its importance as usually such agreements are signed by heads of economic ministries. George Bush called the treaty "a milestone for Poland and the U.S."

Premier Mazowiecki who arrived at the White House from his residence in Blair House was welcomed by President George Bush and Mrs. Barbara Bush. After the welcoming ceremony and hearing national anthems of Poland and the United States, President George Bush and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki delivered speeches.

The welcoming ceremony was attended by members of U.S. Administration, congressmen and members of a Polish delegation accompanying the premier. The delegation is composed of: Marek Dabrowski—secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, Jan Majewski—under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dariusz Ledworowski—under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Malgorzata Niezabitowska—under-secretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers and government spokeswoman, Waldemar Kuczynski—under-secretary of state at the Office of the Council of Minister, and Jan Kinast—Poland's ambassador to the U.S.

After the arrival ceremony, President George Bush and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki went to the Oval Office in the White House for a half-an-hour face-to-face talk (only with interpreters and shorthand writers). Later, they continued talks in the company of other officials.

At 11:30, an hour and a half after Mazowiecki's arrival at the White House, the President and the premier returned to the garden to sign the "Treaty on Trade and Economic Relations between the Republic of Poland and the United States of America". Bush and Mazowiecki were accompanied by members of U.S. Administration: Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady, Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, U.S. representatives for commerce, Mrs. Carla Hills and Congress leaders.

In his remarks after signing the treaty, President Bush expressed his conviction that the treaty would largely expand and consolidate economic relations between the U.S. and Poland, while Prime Minister Mazowiecki pointed out that it would create prospects for engaging American businessmen in Polish economic reality.

"I believe that Poland is a [words indistinct] opportunities. I think as well that Poland is a country of ever greater opportunities opening also to the east, and our economy can play this role, too," Mazowiecki said.

Premier Mazowiecki thanked members of the Polish-American enterprise fund founded by the U.S. President last week. The fund is to boost the development of private enterprise. "Poland counts on the fund's work very much," the premier said.

Later during the day, the Polish delegation headed by Premier Mazowiecki held talks at the Department of State with the acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger.

In the late afternoon, Mazowiecki received in his Blair House residence at separate meetings leading representatives of U.S. Administration. In the evening, U.S. President George Bush hosted a dinner in honour of the Polish premier followed by a gala concert.

Mazowiecki Receives U.S. Assurance of Support

LD2203181490 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondents Jerzy Gorski and Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, March 22—President Bush gave a gala reception in the White House here on Wednesday night in honour of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The representatives of economic, financial and trade circles, scientists, artists and the U.S. Administration and Congress took part in the reception.

Premier Mazowiecki presented President Bush with a Slucki belt from the 16th-18th centuries and a crystal vase. He received a silver vase in the shape of a shell from the President.

Raising his toast, President Bush recalled the cordial welcome that Polish society had given him during his two visits to Poland in 1987 and 1989.

He recalled long-term and consistent struggle of Polish people for democratic Poland and changes that had taken place in Poland since his visits.

The U.S. President said that, fighting for freedom and civic liberties, Polish people took its fate in its own hands and that Poland enjoyed freedom today.

George Bush assured Premier Mazowiecki that the American people were now, during this national rebirth, at one with Polish society.

Referring to the talks with Premier Mazowiecki conducted on Wednesday, the President said that he raised a toast for faithful Polish friends and for the future of free Poland.

To show that the relations between Poland and the U.S. are really getting normal, the President told the Polish prime minister he had agreed to open a Polish consulate in Los Angeles, Seitz said. Poland had been seeking to have the consulate opened for a long time now. Also, President Bush issued an order to lift limitations on travel for staffers of Polish missions in the United States. The decision is going to take effect the moment the president signs a relevant decree.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki also met with Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger [as received]. The talks mainly focused on the need to set up a new European security structure, and Mazowiecki elaborated on his concept to set up a Council for European Cooperation. Eagleburger agreed that such a need exists and said this was so because the situation in Europe was undergoing such rapid and dynamic changes.

Eagleburger added that this should take place within the Helsinki process and that this was a matter which would be discussed.

The prime minister proposed certain consultations on this subject with the United States. Eagleburger agreed and even stated that these should be permanent consultations between Poland and the U.S.

Niezabitowska stated that it was nice to hear Secretary Eagleburger stress that this was a completely new stage in Polish-American relations. He stated that Poland ranked among America's friends. Consent to open a Polish consulate on the West Coast, is a small but symbolic example of this, she said.

Eagleburger proposed that the working lunch at the Department of State be held in the so-called Jefferson's Room because he considered the prime minister a Polish Jefferson, adding that this was not a diplomatic compliment.

The prime minister then held several separate meetings at his residence in the Blair House. One of the guests was William Webster, the head of the CIA. The two discussed curbs on the sale of goods of strategic importance to Poland and the operation of COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] which supervises such limitations.

The prime minister and CIA head also discussed central-East European problems, minority issues and Lithuania.

During talks with Defence Secretary Richard Cheney, Mazowiecki invited ships of the U.S. Navy to pay a visit to Gdansk and Szczecin. The defence secretary accepted the invitation with satisfaction. The date is yet to be set.

Cheney asked about Poland's military budget and changes in the Ministry of National Defence. Mazowiecki chiefly spoke about political changes, noting that he would appoint a civilian vice minister at the Ministry of National Defence soon.

The U.S. defence secretary and Polish prime minister then went on to discuss the presence of Soviet troops in Poland.

Cheney inquired about Poland's stand on the matter. He learned that Poland favours two phases of a settlement of this matter: The first, initial one, less significant but quick, covers a change of status of the stationed Soviet troops which would relieve local residents from various burdens. There are also plans to start talks on the future evacuation of Soviet troops.

Mazowiecki stated that Poland thought this would take place within the framework of a general reduction of conventional forces to a level of 195 thousand soldiers. Soviet combat units stationed in Poland would undergo reductions while transportation and communications personnel would be left behind.

During talks with U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, Mazowiecki stressed that he understood that decreasing the debt burden was difficult because if this took place in the case of Poland, this would set a precedent and many countries could claim the same thing. "The debt is nonetheless a tremendous burden for us, a stranglehold for us," Mazowiecki told Brady, adding that everything which has been proposed to Poland so far, even the breaks of the Paris Club (interest rescheduling) were only short-term solutions which did not change anything in the long-run.

The reaction of the U.S. secretary "was moderate". Brady understands the issue but it is an extremely difficult one. The Americans are kindly inclined towards Poland's stand and "will work on it."

Prime Minister Mazowiecki on Wednesday also met with member of the House of Representatives Steny Hoyer who co-chairs the Congressional Committee for the CSCE.

Hoyer, who knows Poland, asked Mazowiecki what he thought of the Helsinki process and how the Helsinki 2 conference could be held earlier. The two also discussed a project to set up a Council for European Cooperation.

Mazowiecki, Bush Hold 'General Review'

LD2203094490 Warsaw PAP in English 0855 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By PAP reporters Jerzy Gorski and Ryszard Piekarowicz—quotation marks as received]

[Text] Washington, March 22: Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and U.S. President George Bush continued their talks this morning about the German issue and new security system in Europe.

Polish Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said last night that both leaders stated that their discussion on that day was too short and the President proposed to hold another meeting as they only began to discuss serious subjects. It was agreed that the second talk would take place at 1000 hrs (1600 hrs Warsaw time) the next day.

Spokesman of the American side Raymond Seitz who is also the Undersecretary of State for Europe and Canada stated that the talks on Wednesday focused on border issues and the two plus four process. The talk was a kind of "general review" of subjects. The prime minister used the opportunity to thank the President, the U.S. Congress and the American nation for everything which they did for Poland in the recent months. He stated that he did not arrive in the U.S. to seek additional aid but hoped that progress could be made in the execution of many aid programs which had already been announced or begun.

Seitz added that the prime minister also spoke about Poland's foreign debt which places a tremendous burden on it. The U.S. President heard this "with understanding."

Asked whether the talks would be continued because something "unexpected" came up on Wednesday, spokeswoman Niezabitowska replied that nothing new came up and that it was known from the start that 40 minutes was not much for the talks and would not be enough to discuss all the important matters." I do not think that this happened because of the German problem. Simply, all the matters are quite complicated and interwoven," she said in reply to another question.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki stated that Poles who were the first in the struggle against totalitarianism enforced upon all of Central and Eastern Europe, today want to be in the first line of creating laws and institutions of a stable democratic order. "We are making Poland a state guaranteeing all political freedoms to its citizens. We are introducing a market economy based on free enterprise. And now, when we have taken up this effort, we have a moral right to seek support from other countries," Mazowiecki said.

The Polish prime minister stressed that the Yalta era was becoming history. "A need arises to create a different structure, one which in the framework of the balance of forces would contribute to the gradual freeing of Europe from military rivalry and to drawing together its two divided parts. A treaty-like recognition of the borders on the Odra and Nysa rivers is an important element of this structure," he said.

Mazowiecki stated that the council for European cooperation proposed by him was not intended to replace any of the existing organizations but would be a place where work could be started within the framework of the CSCE process on putting words to deeds as goes for the new political face of Europe." It is difficult to imagine this work without notable participation of the U.S.," the prime minister added.

"I would like for the U.S. to view Poland as one of the significant subjects of contemporary European politics," Mazowiecki stressed.

Mazowiecki White House Dinner Toast

LD2203150190 Warsaw PAP in English 1350 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Toast by Polish Prime Minister—Abridged"—PAP headline]

[Text] Washington, March 22—In his toast delivered at state dinner in the White House March 21, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in part:

Nowadays, we're witnessing an enormous acceleration of the march (of democracy) in Nicaragua, Chile, even Mongolia, but most of all in Eastern and Central Europe.

Under the pressure of Eastern and Central European nations, totalitarianism is giving way. The disease of our century, which had devoured tens of millions of human lives, forcing hundreds of millions of others into a dead end of history for many years—we in Poland are now emerging from a long night of totalitarian oppression.

Just as we stood in the forefront of the struggle, so today we wish to be in the forefront in establishing the rights and institutions of a stable democratic order. We're making Poland a state of the rule of law, which guarantees all political freedoms to its citizens. We're building a free market economy based on free enterprise.

Now that this effort has been undertaken we have the moral right to seek the support of other countries.

The changes in the Eastern and Central Europe are making the situation across the whole continent essentially different. The era of Yalta is becoming history.

A need is emerging for a new structure which would operate within the parity of powers to gradually free Europe of military rivalry and bring the two separated parts closer together. Such a structure needs to be based on a solid foundation. Reconciliation between nations is possible only when they do not fear neither for their present nor their future. For this reason, an important component of the building must be the recognition of the Polish border along the Oder and Neisse rivers in the form of a treaty.

To create a new political facet of Europe is going to be a difficult challenge and one calling for time and an enormous amount of work. In our view, a helpful factor would be to form the Council for European Cooperation. Its job would not be to replace any of the existing organizations. It would serve as a platform whereby, within the CSCE framework, work might be launched to give those ideas a concrete form. One could hardly imagine such work without a significant role on the part of the United States.

I would like the United States to view Poland as one of the important actors of present day European politics. A strong Poland engaged in building a democratic corridor and freed of economic difficulties will be a stable factor of the new European order, an order based on freedom, respect of human rights, and economic and political balance on the continent.

Sejm Adopts Resolution on Lithuania

LD2203215790 Warsaw PAP in English 1908 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—Sejm passed a resolution on Lithuania in which it greets the return of the Lithuanian people to the family of free nations.

The declaration of the democratically elected parliament of Lithuania which proclaims the continuity and independence of the Lithuanian state is a natural consequence of the recognition of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact as invalid.

In the resolution, Sejm expressed their conviction that the legitimate aspirations of Lithuania will be respected and the process of reconstruction of the independent statehood of Lithuania will progress quickly and peacefully.

Fighting Solidarity Demonstrates in Szczecin

LD2203185890 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The Club of the Free and those Solidarity members of Fighting Solidarity organised a rally in Szczecin today under the slogan of "Down With The SB" [security service]. On Grunwald Square at 1600 a group of several hundred demonstrators, mainly young people, gathered. Following the reading of program declarations, inter alia on the need for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Polish territory, a procession was formed, which started a march along the Slask, Jagiellonski and next to the Wojsko Polskie streets. A dozen or so minutes ago according to the last report from our reporter, the group of young people, escorted by the militia, was moving toward Victory Square.

Demonstrations Held in Warsaw, Major Cities

LD2203220490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] A brake on price increases, nullification of the 1982 trade union law, the resignation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the withdrawal of Soviet armies—these were demanded by participants of a rally organized by Fighting Solidarity and Solidarity '80 in Warsaw today. They also appealed to the government to establish full diplomatic relations with Lithuania. Similar demonstrations, which on the whole passed without incident, also took place in Szczecin, Poznan, Katowice, and Gorzow. Only in Poznan was the militia forced to use water cannon after being pelted with stones and bottles of gasoline.

Warsaw Demonstrators Support Lithuanian Moves

LD2303084590 Warsaw PAP in English 0057 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—A rally of support for Lithuania was held by the Fighting Solidarity and Solidarity '80 in the Plac Zamkowy Square here today.

Next, a group of some 150 demonstrators marched towards the Sejm (lower house) building chanting slogans with demands to establish diplomatic relations between the Polish and Lithuanian Governments.

Then the demonstrators moved towards the building of the Soviet Embassy where they expressed their dissatisfaction with the Supreme Soviet's not recognising the Lithuanian independence declaration.

"Soviets go home," "Vilnius-Warsaw - one cause," "Long live free Lithuania" —These were among the slogans shouted by the demonstrators.

Skubiszewski Addresses WEU Parliament

LD2303100890 Warsaw PAP in English 0001 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondent Ireneusz Lukasik]

[Text] Luxembourg, March 22—A two-day extraordinary session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU) stated here today.

The session is attended by Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

President of the WEU Assembly Charles Goerens stressed in his address that for the first time in the history of the organization its debates had been attended by a foreign minister of a Warsaw Treaty state. Goerens also emphasized that the consequences of Germany's unification would affect Poland most.

So the speech delivered this afternoon by the Polish foreign minister aroused great interest among the participants in the session.

"Our goal today is to lay foundations for a new system of European security. The process of the unification of Germany made the task particularly urgent," Skubiszewski said.

Having stated that political, economic and social changes in central and Eastern Europe modified the political map of the continent, Minister Skubiszewsi said that the beginning was made by Solidarnosc in Poland in 1980. He stressed that his presence at the WEU forum was a sign of the disappearing division of Europe and testified to mutual opening and rapprochement between what formerly used to be separated parts of one and the same continent.

In the opinion of the Polish minister changes that have taken place opened up a possibility of rearranging the European system in accordance with the aspirations of all the nations of the continent.

"The traditional security mechanisms and structures which have been inherited from the past are clearly not adequate to the challanges we face today. We all want to move away from Yalta and are afraid to come back to Sarajevo. Nonetheless, the legitimate fear of instability should not prevent us from working out a concept of pan-European relations," Skubiszewski said.

The Polish minister paid much attention to the inviolability of frontiers having said that it was particularly important in the present transition in Europe. "The unification of two German states can take place only within the existing frontiers and it must be linked to the corroboration, in treaty form, of the German-Polish frontier," said he.

Minister Skubiszewski expressed the conviction that the NATO and the WEU fulfilled a stabilizing function. "We do not regard our membership in the Warsaw Treaty as an obstacle to developing relations with the West," said he.

"European security is also linked with the presence of the two superpowers. The Soviet role stems from its geopolitical position in Europe. The United States involvement has proved to be of a stabilizing nature and that role may increase with the unification of Germany," went on the Polish minister.

"The reduction of the superpower contest in Europe and the transition to superpower cooperation is of primary importance for finding a solution to the most difficult problem of German unification, which is the political and military status of the united German state. That state must be fully integrated into what now is called the new architecture of Europe. A segment of that architecture is the Council of European Cooperation proposed by Poland," said he.

Next, Minister Skubiszewski answered numerous questions and said Poland was against neutrality of a united Germany for it was aware of dangers linked with this. He expressed the opinion that the membership of a united Germany in NATO would mean losses for the Soviet Union and thus it would require guarantees.

In the opinion of the Polish minister even a temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the former GDR would bring about undesirable complications. Maybe it would be a solution to set up on this territory a German territorial army without an offensive capacity or German-Czechoslovak and German-Polish brigades. The minister stressed that the latter were strictly his personal suggestions.

Asked whether the discussion on the Odra and Nysa border led to the problem of the eastern border Minister Skubiszewski categorically stressed that there was no problem of eastern border in Poland.

Sejm Adopts Law on Self-Government Employees

LD2203215490 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The Sejm (lower house) adopted today a law on self-government employees and on local organs of government general administration.

During a discussion on a draft law on the liquidation of the RSW [Workers Publishing Cooperative] concern, none of the speakers addressing the chamber defended it.

Sejm Hears Draft Resolution on Katyn Crime

LD2203215590 Warsaw PAP in English 1907 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—A draft resolution on the 50th anniversary of the Katyn crime falling this April was presented to the Sejm on behalf of the Convent of Seniors.

In the resolution, which has been sent back for further supplementations and corrections, the Sejm pays tribute to the victims of Katyn and assumes patronage over the ceremonies to commemorate the victims of the tragic developments.

Passes Resolution

LD2303084790 Warsaw PAP in English 0051 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The Sejm (lower house) today passed a resolution on the Katyn crime which reads in part:

By the beginning of April 50 years will have passed since the Katyn crime. The Polish officers, who as a result of the invasion of September 17, 1939, had become Soviet captives, were murdered by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] at an order from Stalin and the then authorities of the USSR. To date, known is only one site of the crime—the Katyn Forest where over four thousand Polish officers from the Kozelski Camp are lying in rest. The graves of the remaining victims are not known.

The Katyn case was a pretext which Stalin used for severing diplomatic relations with the Polish Government. Then Poland was made subject to a brutal pressure, imposition of models and rules alien to it.

Poland, which is regaining sovereignty, should maintain good relations with all its neighbours. However, these relations have to be based on respect for truth and clearing up all the hitherto uncleared questions among which the murder of the Polish soldiers (POWS) belongs to the most painful ones. It should become the subject of appropriate decision and declarations of the Soviet Government immediately.

We expect that the graves of the Polish officers from the Ostashkov and Starobelsk Camps will be found, and that the families of the victims will recieve compensation, and that a monument commemorating the victims will be erected in Katyn in the name of nations' agreement.

Weekly Names 'Connected' Soviets

LD2303084990 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—As we have already reported the "MOSCOW NEWS" weekly has published excerpts from an article by Natalia Lebedeva of the Institute of Hisotry of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in which she confirms on the grounds of archival documents that in April and May of 1940 the Stalinist NKVD (People's Committee for Internal Affairs) murdered 15,131 Polish Army officers and policemen in Katyn. The majority of them were officers of reserve called up to fight against the German invasion.

The goal of the Stalinist and Nazi actions was to murder the Polish intelligentsia.

The "MOSCOW NEWS" has also published a list of 30 Soviet functionaries (including Stalin) of different rank connected with the Katyn crime. Here are their names:

1. Beria L.P—People's commissioner of NKVD
2. Bykov N.F.—Investigating officer of NKVD
3. Beshtakov—Head of the 1st Special Department of NKVD, major.
4. Berezkov—Commander of the Starobelsk Camp
5. Borisovetz—Commander of the Ostashkov Camp, major
6. Volchenkov P.N.—Investigating officer of NKVD
7. Galareyev M.S.—Investigating officer of NKVD
8. Gertzovski—Deputy head of the 1st Special Dept of NKVD, captain.
9. Zarubin V.—Employee of the 2nd Special Dept of NKVD, major
10. Klyeshev N.K.—Investigating officer of NKVD
11. Kiselev A.A.—Investigating officer of NKVD
12. Kirshin—Commissioner of the Starobelsk Camp
13. Logunov—Spokesman for the 2nd Economic Dept of NKVD
14. Molotov V.M.—Chairman of the Council of People's Commissioners (Council of Ministers)
15. Marisov A.M.—Investigating officer of NKVD
16. Maklakov V.A.—Investigating officer of NKVD
17. Mishov—Major, commander of the 136th Self-contained Convoy Battalion
18. Merkulov—Deputy people's commissioner of NKVD
19. Stalin Y.V.—General secretary of the CPSU
20. Serov I.A.—Internal affairs commissioner of the Ukraine
21. Senkin V.I.—Investigating officer of NKVD
22. Stepanov—Deputy head of Special Dept of the GUKV [expansion unckown], colonel
23. Soprunenko P.K.—Head of the NKVD Board for POWs
24. Sudoplatov—Head of the 5th Dept of Gugb [expansion unknown] of NKVD
25. Toparev—Head of the NKVD Board of the Kalinin Region
26. Fedyunin A.Z.—Investigating officer of NKVD
27. Kholichev—Plenipotentiary of the 2nd Dept of the Main Economic Board of NKVD
28. Sharapov—Head of the GUKV, general-major
29. Shishkin V.P.—Investigating officer of NKVD
30. Yurasov I.—Senior political officer.

Soviets Reportedly Admit Responsibility

LD2303145390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] The Soviet Union fully admits its responsibility for the crime committed in Katyn, says TRYBUNA. This was officially made public in Moscow by a communique of the CPSU Central Committee's Commission set up to investigate Stalin's crimes, released on the 50th anniversary of the Polish officer's murder by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs].

A statement to this effect, says TRYBUNA further, was made at a meeting held in the House of Soviet Culture in Warsaw on Thursday by Dr. Sergey Kharlamov, a Soviet historian who made the trip to Poland and who has for a long time been collecting materials on the crimes against Poles committed on the Soviet Union's territory.

'Another NKVD Crime' Uncovered

LD2303084890 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—An execution site where Polish POWs were murdered by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] was discovered in the woods in Turza near the former POWs' camp in Trzebuszka, the main TV news bulletin reported tonight.

The executions took place from mid-August to mid-October 1944 after the Soviet Army had entered these lands.

At that time the Turza woods took on the name of a "Small Katyn."

More details are expected after the exhumation of corpses from the mass graves.

POLITYKA Explains 'Workers' Slogan Deletion

PM2103141090 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Feb 90 p 1

[Editorial by Chief Editor Jan Bijak: "In the Republic"]

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has ceased to exist. A few days ago the last congress of the party put an end to its tumultuous history and handed over to the historians the task of delivering fair verdicts. Today it would indeed be difficult to take a balanced view, free of emotional judgments and the pressure of immediate political interests. Though never a PZPR organ, POLITYKA had close associations with the party. It supported the reformist trend within it; was itself a part of that trend; had quite good readership ratings because it kept its feet firmly on the ground; made it possible for people capable of independent thought to speak their minds; and, finally, did not allow itself to be cast in a stereotype mold of a party organ devoted to transmiting propaganda. However, along with the party, it also made blunders and committed sins which we do not need to list here, for our faithful readers will know them, while the younger ones should not be corrupted by the knowledge. And though we had a great many problems with party taskmasters, though there were times when it was an ordeal to produce the paper, we still constituted part of the PZPR monoculture and it would be hypocritical now, or perhaps even ridiculous, to pretend that we were completely on the outside, independent, and oppositionist. However, we can presumably hope that the things we always regarded as our achievements will be noticed: POLITYKA used to bring a measure of level-headedness and critical thinking into our intellectual life; it favored a searching attitude and an open mind; it did not confine itself to a narrow, restricted circle of authors; and it brought nearer the reforms which in time erupted and accelerated at a rate which surprised almost everyone.

And now we have a new Poland; a Poland to which we are all adjusting and in which we are seeking a place for ourselves—not to hide, to bide our time, or to feather our nests, but to do something useful. There was no longer any room for the PZPR in this picture: It had lost the general public's confidence and it had lost the faith that it would, after all, find its place again. A new party was created, social democratic in name, which goes back to the traditions of Polish socialists, seeks inspiration from social-democratic partners of West Europe, and offers opportunities to those—especially of the young generation—who tried to set up the reform tendency within the PZPR. But at the same time it is burdened with the whole PZPR deadweight: people whom we know only too well to believe in their sudden conversion; habitual actions from the bygone era; intellectual cliches which make themselves conspicuous even with the best of intentions and which preclude any real contact with the surrounding reality. Another party was created, a left-wing union grouped around Sejm Deputy Speaker Tadeusz Fiszbach, within which we can also find people we already know, but equally we can see there new faces, including many Sejm deputies who made it to parliament thanks to Solidarity's support and—in some cases—against the will of the then party echelons. Today no one can claim a patent for being of the left-wing orientation. Apart from the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, there is the Union, there are those grouped in the Polish Socialist Party [PPS], and a great many others, in Solidarity and in the peasant parties, who could either come closer together as they profess similar ideas or ruthlessly fight one another according to the old traditions of communism, socialism, or social democracy.

We would like to extend a welcome in the columns of POLITYKA to all those who want to create a world of the left through arguments and even quarrels, but with respect for their partners. The welcome is extended not to them alone, but to them in the first place. We would like to put POLITYKA's columns and our editorial experience at their disposal.

In this issue we introduce a significant change in our masthead. That is, we have decided to give up the subtitle "Workers of the World, Unite!" This has nothing to do with the currently fashionable kind of operation of changing the names of streets and squares and knocking down statues and monuments. We see nothing wrong or outdated in this slogan. True, we could argue about the term "Workers," were we to treat it too literally, in the 19th century sense referring strictly to class and low status. True, today's worker wears a white collar, is educated, and his condition does not cut him off from the so-called upper social strata. But the finest element of Marx's appeal, which is by no means anachronistic and which makes us sorry to part with it, is its second part, calling for universal solidarity, for unions of people which transcend borders and which unite them in the name of things that are important for more than one nation, class, or stratum. Certainly today the sense of this call comes into sharp focus: when wars, famine, and environmental hazards require measures on a continental and global scale.

So if we decide to drop the "Workers" slogan from our masthead, it is not because it has gone stale and we are turning away from it. We decided that today it could restrict the circle of people who would like to express themselves in the pages of our publication, and whom we would like to welcome in POLITYKA. We also decided that, at a time when various groups proclaiming their allegiance to the socialist left or social democracy are being set up, they may feel constricted by this slogan from "The Communist Manifesto." There may also be others who use this slogan as their mark of identification and whom we could definitely not regard as our fellow travelers. It would not be a good thing if our publication were to be identified with such groups or tendencies simply on the basis of a straightforward convergence of slogans.

These reasons prevailed.

1st Issue of New Weekly Appears

LD2103231990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] The first issue of a new weekly, WOKANDA [CAUSE LIST], which is edited by the team from the dissolved TYGODNIK KULTURALNY [CULTURAL WEEKLY], has appeared. Legal publicists have joined the editoral team. WOKANDA will publish articles on legal matters, economic policy, and history. In the first issue, among other things, lawyer Jan Olszewski writes about how to change the Ministry of Internal Affairs; there are the memoirs from the years 1944-56 of (Antoni Cheda), the legendary Home Army commander in the Kielce region who was sentenced to death; and documents from the Bierut [Polish president 1947-52] archives.

Arms Trade Demonopolization 'Within a Month'

LD2103234190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Within a month, the monopoly on trade in Polish-produced armaments is to be abolished, Minister of External Economic Cooperation Marcin Swiecicki told journalists. Hitherto, these operations have been solely within the competence of the Central Engineering Office—that is, within the structure of this ministry. In a few weeks' time, the ministry will be granting concessions for exports for which only arms producers will be eligible. The Foreign Affairs Ministry will draw up a list of what arms may not be sold to which countries. The demonopolization decision was taken for two reasons. First, the demand in Warsaw Pact countries for our tanks, transporters, ships, radio-location stations and ammunition has fallen, which threatens serious financial difficulties for enterprises producing such equipment. Second, putting order into the arms trade has been forced on the government by political-economic changes and existing shortcomings, including in this the affair of the ship Boleslw Krzywousty.

Official Interviewed on Government Spending

AU2303092490 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Mar 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jacek Ambroziak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, by Roman Chocyk; place and date not given: "How Many Suits Does The Premier Have?"]

[Text] [Chocyk] The government seems to have resorted to old habits again.

[Ambroziak] I beg your pardon?

[Chocyk] Don't you read the press, such as the next to last issue of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC?

[Ambroziak] To be honest, I did not read that issue.

[Chocyk] Then let me quote from an article in it: "Everyone thought that within weeks of assuming power, the new authorities would dispense with privileges, which upset people and placed the authorities in a world different from that in which the people were forced to live. Six months have gone by, and not only has the government not given up anything, it is calling for budget funds to build new facilities."

[Ambroziak] I have no idea where people get such ideas. We are not building any new facilities, and have no intention of doing so.

[Chocyk] Nevertheless, I attended a Senate debate which accused the government of having "red tendencies" and criticized the size of the expenditures planned by the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM].

[Ambroziak] Our plan of expenditures only took the most urgent and basic needs into account. The Sejm cut our planned expenditures by about 40 percent, but did not question any particular category of expenditures. Lately, we have received over Z132 billion for improvements and refurbishing. Making improvements does not mean building new facilities. It means renovation, reconstruction, replacement of installations, etc. The Palace of the Council of Ministers on Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street is in need of renovation this year. This should have been done years ago, but the decision was always postponed because there were always more urgent expenses. Right now, this building is in a critical state, and art conservators are demanding an urgent start on refurbishing work. Many complicated renovation tasks will have to be performed. This will cost about Z24 billion.

[Chocyk] What will the Z132 billion be spent on?

[Ambroziak] On maintaining and refurbishing the recreational facilities of the URM, among other things.

[Chocyk] The very things that are considered to be "symbols of the authorities' isolation from the people."

[Ambroziak] Look, I don't know what the situation was before, but I can assure you that all these facilities are available to every URM employee. Even the famous Arlamow and Lanski estates are accessible. Of course, in these two, there is a separate section for the premier and state leadership. These are rural retreats, just like ones in other countries. Foreign guests are received there, among other things. Because of their social backgrounds and salaries, Western politicians can afford private residences of this type, but here a premier or president has to make do with state facilities.

[Chocyk] How many such facilities does the URM have?

[Ambroziak] Eleven altogether. They are situated in, among other places, Kolobrzeg, Sopot, Zakopane, Jadwisina, Mala Wies, and Grodno. The two previously mentioned facilities have a representational nature, but the remainder are nothing elaborate. They are no different from the thousands of other facilities around the country belonging to ministries, organizations, institutions, factories, steelworks, coal mines, and trade unions.

[Chocyk] Do URM employees have free use of them?

[Ambroziak] No. Right now, the premier and ministers pay Z30,000 per day. If they go with their families, then a 10-day visit will cost several hundred thousand zlotys.

[Chocyk] You're not going to tell me that a minister cannot afford such an expense.

[Ambroziak] That is another myth. Right now, a minister earns about Z2.4 million [about $210], and a deputy minister Z2.1 million.

[Chocyk] What about the premier?

[Ambroziak] Just like the president and the marshals of the Sejm and Senate, the premier earns slightly more than Z3 million.

[Chocyk] Indeed, such figures ought not to shock anyone.

[Ambroziak] That is what I think. Certainly, there are a lot of people in Poland who earn far more.

[Ambroziak] But you have probably not included all the elements that make up a government official's income, such as bonuses.

[Chocyk] The figures I have quoted are total incomes, including extra increments earned by performing additional functions or length of service. Without them, the premier's monthly salary would be Z1.8 million.

[Ambroziak] I have heard that soon anyone will be able to stay at a government recreational center.

[Ambroziak] That is not quite the case. Because these centers are not used by URM employees for a major part of the year, we have decided to sign an agreement with "Orbis" and "Poltur" enabling them to be let out to foreign visitors. This would reduce the cost of maintaining these centers. If the conditions imposed by these tourist offices are suitable, our citizens will also be able to use them.

[Chocyk] Let us proceed to another sensitive topic, the government health service. Senator Zofia Kuratowska explained recently that this health service should be available to all patients, because patients forced to lie in hospital corridors for lack of space would be upset if the premier suddenly turned up as a patient himself.

[Ambroziak] Surely, in every normal country, a premier or other government member is not expected to sit in a doctor's waiting room together with everyone else? This is neither rational nor necessary. Given the generally difficult situation in the health service, it is quite natural for people to be jealous of our health facilities. These facilities at present consist of two buildings, a hospital and a clinic, on Emilia Plater Street, and a convalescent home in Konstancin. Apart from URM employees, people employed by the Chancellery of the President, Sejm, and Senate, a total of 14,000, can use these facilities. This is too many in relation to what the government health service can handle. The equipment, standards, and drug supply are not excellent. The only clear advantage of this separate government health service is that we jump the queue to get treatment, but that is hardly a privilege that has been decided beforehand.

[Chocyk] What about other perks, such as shops selling curtains with a special color?

[Ambroziak] There are no such shops.

[Chocyk)Then where do you buy your clothes?

[Ambroziak] When I was appointed minister, I only had one suit. I bought my second one at "Moda Polska," and my friend's tailor sewed me the third one.

[Chocyk] Yes, one notices that the government is becoming more smartly dressed.

[Ambroziak] That is also a job requirement. The premier must have the greatest number of suits, because he has the greatest number of representational tasks. I understand that he orders his suits from private tailors. Minister Jacek Kuron resisted wearing a suit longer than anyone else, but then he was invited to the United States, and he was given a suit for nothing. He wears it every so often.

[Chocyk] And what do members of the government travel in?

[Ambroziak] Lancias. We obtained them from this firm under favorable terms. They are also used by the Sejm, Senate, and the president. Lech Walesa has bought one. They are also used by foreign delegations during their visits to Poland. Diplomatic protocol does pose requirements. Normally, however, the premier and the minister use Polonez cars. Of course, these cars are strictly for official use.

[Chocyk] From what you have said, I do not know whether or not I should envy members of the government for all their privileges.

[Ambroziak] There is no special reason to do so. Certainly privileges are not the main reason to enjoy work in the government or URM. In this respect, we have nothing to hide from public opinion.

Bucharest Rejects Hungary's Call To Restore Order

AU2203183290 Paris AFP in English 1714 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, March 22 (AFP)—The Romanian Government rejected Hungary's call for it to re-establish order in the region of Transylvania Thursday, saying recent bloody communal violence there was Romania's own affair. [passage omitted]

Violence in the town of Tirgu Mures left seven people dead and more than 300 injured, medical officials there told Agence France-Presse by telephone.

Romania was "prepared to accept any appeal from the Hungarian Government", Romanian Government spokesman Cristian Unteanu [spelling as received] told AFP. But it was "not up to the Hungarian Government to resolve Romanian's internal problems". The situation in Transylvania, he added, "has calmed down and there are no demonstrations at the moment". [passage omitted]

Rumours that ethnic Hungarians were seeking independence for Transylvania, once part of Hungary, are said to have helped stir up the fighting in Tirgu Mures.

Elsewhere in Bucharest and in other Romanian towns, smaller groups of mainly student demonstrators marched for national unity and to celebrate the third month since a popular uprising toppled the Ceausescu dictatorship. [passage omitted]

Romanian-Hungarian Ethnic Commission Meets

AU2203195890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The first meeting of the joint commission of representatives of the Romanian and Hungarian population, the Vatra Romaneasca Union [VRU], and the Mures County branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR], ended today, 22 March 1990, at 1800 [1600 GMT], in the presence of the governmental commission.

By joint agreement, the meeting agreed on the following points:

1. The need for correct, full, and balanced information for the public about the true course of events in Tirgu Mures and Mures County and about the intentions and claims of the national minorities in order to ensure full equality of rights among all the country's inhabitants.

2. Note was taken of the statement made by HDUR representatives concerning the Hungarian population's loyalty to Romania's territorial integrity and of the fact that this organization does not want and has never wanted Transylvania to be torn away from the country's body. Naturally, the VRU took note of this HDUR decision and will make it known to the Romanian public.

3. An end was demanded to political strikes and street demonstrations throughout Mures County.

4. Two joint working commissions were set up: one to reestablish the truth, whenever necessary, in all mass information media; the second to investigate the events under the leadership of a representative of the legal commission of the Provisional National Unity Council.

5. Agreement was reached on the need to ensure the right to education in the mother tongue in all its aspects; this problem will be resolved by the parliament after the elections;

6. At the same time, solutions will be found to the problem of public signs that are also in the language of the minorities; concrete proposals will be advanced in this respect in accordance with legal provisions.

7. Relevant authorities are requested to take steps to ensure, and the population is requested to observe, personal safety, public security, and the security of each citizen's job.

8. VRU and HDUR pledge to refrain from unwarranted polemics or mutually unfounded invectives.

Agreement Reached With Hungarian Minority

LD2303093190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] In Tirgu Mures, an agreement has been reached at the talks held under the leadership of Deputy Premier Voiculescu between representatives of the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania, and Vatra Romaneasca, as well as with elected representatives of the people.

According to the joint communique, the Hungarian minority will be given the right to mother-tongue education; at the same time, they state that they will respect Romania's territorial integrity. Both the Hungarians and the Romanians have called on their followers to cease the political strikes.

A report from Hungarian radio's Bucharest correspondent said that the talks between the Romanians protesting outside the Hungarian diplomatic mission in Bucharest and the Hungarian ambassador have also concluded encouragingly.

Voican Addresses Tirgu Mures Demonstrators

AU2203220390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] This afternoon, the Vatra Romaneasca Union [VRU] organized a meeting between Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu, deputy prime minister of the government and head of the governmental delegation sent to Tirgu Mures, and demonstrators present in the central square of the municipality.

Addressing the demonstrators, VRU Vice President Mr. Dumitru Pop told them to put all their trust in the commission that has arrived from Bucharest, for it will examine, in a spirit of objectiveness and full responsibility, the causes that led to the violent clashes in the city and county in recent days. He also assured the crowd that resolute steps will be taken against all those found guilty of these blameworthy acts in order to ease tensions and to ensure public quietude.

The meeting was addressed by various Romanian speakers, who demanded the removal from the county and municipality leadership of those who contributed to incitement and to acts of violence that resulted in casualties; individuals who created destabilization; Hungarian citizens who disrupted the city's bread supply and overturned various vehicles; individuals who threw working people out of their places of employment in their own country; and other people who continue to create panic among the population of Tirgu Mures and the county. The speakers asked the governmental commission to investigate the incidents and to brief the population on the atrocities committed in recent days and the destruction and damage caused.

Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu emphasized that today nobody can raise the issue of giving up Ardeal and that nobody can take it away from us. At the same time, he asked the participants in the demonstration to trust the joint commission, which also includes 10 VRU members. Moreover, the speaker said that the representatives of the Hungarian community do not have any separatist claims, but rather they demand a certain cultural individuality. We, ourselves, will defend the country's integrity and will never allow anybody to steal a piece of our fatherland's land.

Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu told the demonstrators that next Friday steps will be taken to reshuffle the municipal and county Provisional National Unity Councils and that the public will be kept abreast of the actions undertaken by the governmental commission to restore order. In conclusion, the speaker called on all demonstrators to return to their workplaces in order to normalize activities in all spheres.

'Reconciliation' Possible with Hungarian Minority

LD2303092690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] There have been further anti-Hungarian demonstrations in Marosvasarhely, resulting in increased hostilities. With the backing of the Romanians, more peasants are arriving in the town by rail and across the fields. Those from the Szekler region, however, who are hurrying to help the Hungarians, are being turned back by the military, which is controlling the public roads. No Hungarian journalist can enter the town for an indefinite period.

However, there have been developments in the past 24 hours which highlight the chances for reconciliation. Peter Marvanyi speaks about these too, in his report from Bucharest:

[Begin Marvanyi recording] The statement from the government commission at Tirgu Mures, which is sober in tone, and which is much more objective than indications to date, was followed a few hours later on television last night by the stance of the RMDSz [Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania], which was read by Geza Domokos.

The Association acknowledges the results so far of the operation of the government commission, the statement says. At the same time, it emphasizes that the government statement on Wednesday must be examined; instead of resolving the situation, this further increased the confusion by making the Hungarians solely responsible for the unrest. The authorities should declare publicly why the Army and the police intervention was late. The responsibility of the ROMPRES news agency and Romanian television for the one-sided information provided should also be investigated. This is what the RMDSz communique states.

The defense minister spoke on television once again, too. He assured the national population that the united Romanian Army is ready to protect the territorial integrity and public order of the country, to curb the irresponsible elements who are endangering citizens' lives. The general called on the Army to retain its combat-readiness in view of the complex external and internal situation and to be capable of responding to every kind of provocation. Compared to the statements of a few days ago, this is new inasmuch as previously Stancalescu spoke only about the defense of integrity.

Despite the more conciliatory positions heard, Romanian television gave a detailed account of the anti-Hungarian demonstrations and gatherings in both its evening news broadcasts. There were three demonstrations outside the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest yesterday. [end recording]

Government Commission Meets With T. Mures Council

AU2303113190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] A short time ago the government commission especially appointed by the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] began talks with the members of the County Council in Tirgu Mures.

On the basis of majority approval, the former [local] Executive Bureau resigned as a body and, based on the proposal of Mr Vlad Radescu, representatives of the Hungarian minority should propose the representatives of the Romanian majority population as candidates for the future bureau, while the Romanians should propose the Hungarian representatives.

After an interval, the talks of the special government commission appointed by the PNUC Executive Bureau with the members of the County Council will continue.

Peaceful 21 Mar Bucharest Demonstration Reported

AU2203141490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1306 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Political Life: Demonstration in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/3/1990—Wednesday evening [21 March], about 10 pm, a group of nearly 100 citizens gathered around the roadside cross in University Square and on the boulevard between Hotel Intercontinental and Dunarea restaurant to commemorate, as they said, the martyr heroes who died during the revolution in the night of 21 to 22 December 1989.

Another group of nearly 200 people came soon to protest against the acts of violence committed in some settlements in Transylvania in the last few days. They were carrying panels reading "Murim, luptam, Ardealu-l aparam" (we die and fight to defend the Ardeal), "Ardealul este Romanesc" (the Ardeal is Romanian). They also stopped in University Square to keep a minute's silence to the memory of those who died three months ago.

Though the police were there they had not to interfere because the two groups were peacefully demonstrating, and after 11 hours pm they went back home.

Anti-Magyar Demonstrations in Bucharest 22 Mar

LD2203191790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The spread of anti-Magyar sentiment in Romania is growing. The Magyar school and nursery in Bucharest has been closed for three days. Otto Oltvanyi reports from the Romanian capital:

[Begin Oltvanyi recording] In Bucharest, groups of university students are on the streets shouting: We will not give up Transylvania! A group of 500 people went to the Hungarian Embassy building and later left from there. Right now, additional groups are heading toward the embassy building. Ambassador Pal Szuets informed their delegates that the Romanian Government communique contains unfounded accusations. As a result of the situation that has developed, the Magyar school and nursery in Bucharest has been closed for three days. A group of protesters threw stones at the Magyar school. At noon, Bucharest students traveled in an organized fashion to Cluj and Tirgu Mures to assure the young Romanian people there of their support.

In Tirgu Mures at present, a gathering of Romanians can be seen on the main square, and the mood is heating up; tempers are not cooling down. In the town hall the government commission is holding discussions, and they will probably issue a report this evening.

The government statement yesterday has given rise to further remonstrance. The workers at the canning factory in Tirgu Mures had an appeal read out on the local radio. In the appeal, they said that the government should retract its anti-Magyar statement immediately. [end recording]

Tirgu Mures Reportedly 'Normal' 23 Mar

AU2303120090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Normal activity was resumed this morning in all industrial enterprises and trade centers in the Tirgu Mures area, the representatives of the Mures County Provisional National Unity Council announced. As far as education is concerned, some secondary school students did not attend courses out of fear.

Some public transportation lines in the city have started operating again. Downtown, where this week's events took place, clearing operations have begun to remove the debris left by the violent incidents that took place here. Generally speaking, the atmosphere is characterized by security and trust in the resumption of normal daily life.

Tirgu Mures, Bucharest Reported Calm 23 Mar

LD2303124390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The night passed calmly in Tirgu Mures, and there were no clashes this morning either. However, the war of words in connection with events is continuing. Peter Marvanyi reports from Bucharest.

[Begin Marvanyi recording] The most striking was [the statement by] Karoly Kiraly, who comments in today's issue of the ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO on that certain government statement which held the Magyars responsible in every respect for the disturbances. Karoly Kiraly merely writes: The statement should have been given the date of an earlier one; its content does not differ at all from statements issued last year.

Daniel (?Vegi), a Romanian writer in Timisoara, responded to the Magyars with the following: We must do everything, we Romanians and you Magyars, the joint inhabitants of Transylvania, to recreate the solidarity formed during the time of the revolution. We must form Romanian-Magyar Friendship Societies throughout the entire area of Transylvania. [passage omitted]

This morning, Bucharest, too, was quiet, and in the morning, the Hungarian Embassy was not the site of demonstrations, which have become usual in the past days. [end recording]

Miercurea Ciuc TU Calls General Strike 23 Mar

AU2303130690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] The Provisional Council of Free Trade Unions of Miercurea Ciuc Municipality [near Tirgu Mures] has called on all free trade unions in Romania stressing that Transylvania is undeniably part and parcel of Romania and, at the same time, the joint cradle of Romanians, Hungarians, and of the other coexisting nationalities.

Miercurea Ciuc Free Trade Unions are struggling for observance of basic civic and human rights and for the individual and collective rights of the ethnic minorities by being in solidarity with the free trade unions of Tirgu Mures.

We do not agree with the 21 March government statement on the incidents in Tirgu Mures, because it was not corroborated by the report of the government commission set up to investigate the incidents.

We demand that those involved in these incidents and the deeds committed should be judged on the basis of truth and truth alone.

Therefore we call on all free trade unions and all people in Romania, irrespective of nationality, to display understanding, tolerance, and openness toward a constructive dialogue, and to support us so that genuine democracy, justice, and peaceful coexistence of all may be established in free Romania.

Considering the aforementioned things, we support Mr. Karoly Kiraly's call for calm, order, understanding, and resolution of all problems on the basis of dialogue.

In support of our demands, we declare a general—Japanese-type—strike beginning today, 23 March 1990, 0600 [0400 GMT], in Miercurea Ciuc.

Trusting the good intentions of the government to solve the problems raised, we will continue this type of strike up to 29 March 1990 at 2400 [2200 GMT], the call of the Miercurea Ciuc Municipality Provisional Council of Trade Unions to the free trade unions in Romania stresses.

Situation Calm; Strikes in Harghita County

AU2203191390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Harghita County: Calm and Japanese-Style Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—In Harghita County the situation is calm. The workers of the enterprises in the county seat—Miercurea Ciuc—decided to continue their strike from 23 to 29 March in a Japanese style—the participants coming to their work places with arm bands allowing thus the government commission to solve the cropped-up problems.

The inhabitants of the county, Romanians and Hungarians, express their confidence in the present leadership requesting palpable measures for the settlement of the claims of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania among which: correct information of public opinion about the situation in Transylvania, learning units with tuition in Hungarian—from kindergartens to university—the setting up of the ministry of nationalities.

As the memorial handed over to Prime Minister Petre Roman the previous day by representatives of the population in Miercurea Ciuc and of the county Provisional National Unity Council shows, the claims of the Hungarian nationality do in no way pursue territorial disintegration.

General Strike Ends in Covasna County

AU2203220590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—The general strike in Covasna County ended on Thursday [22 March] after Prime Minister Petre Roman conferred on the phone with representatives of the county Provisional National Unity Council, of local organizations of the Democratic Union of Hungarians of Romania, of free trade unions of enterprises and institutions and of their executives.

It was agreed that the prime minister would make all efforts to support the claims of the strikers in Covasna. Until 29 March included a one-hour warning strike will be called daily at the end of each shift. [sentence as received]

ADEVARUL on Transylvania Situation 22 Mar

AU2303102190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/3/1990—The following is the picture of Transylvania Thursday 22 March as supplied by newspaper "ADEVARUL" on the basis of information from its envoys.

Mures County: the night of Wednesday to Thursday was quiet. Thursday [22 March], about one thousand Romanians gathered at a meeting. In the city of Tirgu Mures where 80 percent of the economic activity is at a standstill [as received]. No acts of vandalism were reported. Thirty-six injured discharged from hospital were taken to their homes. Yesterday another nine persons suspected of having had a part in previous-day incidents were arrested. Three thousand people demonstrated at Reghin. The second shift did not work.

Cluj County: four thousand workers of the city's heavy equipment combine held a meeting on the premises. About three hundred students demonstrated in the streets of the city.

Bistrita-Nasaud County: from 2.00 pm to 6.00 pm about 15-20,000 citizens demonstrated in Bistrita calling for greater unity for the defence of the country, of its territorial integrity. At Beclean, a three thousand strong demonstration was reported. The decision was made to resume work Friday.

Covasna County: the strike continued Thursday in the town of Covasna. Work was decided to be resumed Friday when a one-hour strike is planned at the end of the work programme schedule. At Tirgu Secuiesc, about 3,000 persons demonstrated peacefully from 10.00 am to 12.00 am; at 5.00 pm several hundred people demonstrated in the city of Sfintu Gheorghe.

Harghita County: two thousand demonstrated in Miercurea Ciuc (who decided to resume work Friday), six thousand demonstrated at Odorheiu Secuiesc from 2.00 pm to 4.00 pm. A similar demonstration was staged at Gheorghieni where some persons held cudgels and red-and-black flags which they said were the old insignia of the Szeklers. At Cristuru Secuiesc about three thousand people demonstrated. The Romanian miners of Balan announced they would return to work Friday. Yesterday all meetings and demonstrators were peaceful, with quiet and order being ensured by local authorities and the police.

Tirgu Mures Youth Groups Issue Proclamation

AU2203213990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Proclamation of Tirgu Mures Youth"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—Representative organizations of Romanian and Hungarian youth of Tirgu Mures—among which the county and city commissions for youth affairs of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], the Students' League, the Hungarian Students' Association, the Democratic Union of Young Hungarians, the Youth Democratic Organization jointly adopted and signed a proclamation, released today, in connection with the events in Tirgu Mures against the background of questions concerning the rights of national minorities, and in order to stop incidents.

The document asks the Provisional National Unity Council (Romania's parliament) to issue, without delay, a decree-law on the rights of the ethnical minorities, in conformity with the Final Acts of Helsinki and Vienna, which should be published and applied; to set up a governmental commission which should supervise the application of the right of the minorities stipulated by the two treaties; to immediately initiate consultations with the PNUC national commission on minorities. It is also demanded that, by virtue of the provisions of future decree-law, laws should be applied to punish those who disregard these rights. Other points of the proclamation refer to the firmer commitment of the bodies in charge with the application of laws, the observance of inviolability of individuals and institutions, the responsibilities of the police and of the armed forces; the release from the county and city PNUC of the persons responsible for what happened in Tirgu Mures, the investigation and punishment of the persons that favoured the heightening of tension between nationalities, measures by the PNUC to prevent the proliferation of extremist organizations, the setting up of a body in charge of state security.

T. Mures Pharmacy Denies Serving Only Hungarians

LD2303141690 Budapest MTI in English 1158 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 23 (MTI)—Romanian rumours and certain Western reports that Pharmacy No. 28 in Tirgu Mures, Romania, put up a sign stating "This pharmacy only serves Hungarians", are completely groundless and lies, said M. Emese Kormoczky, deputy manager of the chemist's, in a statement to Bucharest radio.

The radio's Hungarian-language transmission carried an interview Peter Mag did with the Pharmacist. Ms Kormoczky also said that so far, everyone has refused to carry her denial.

"A report from ROMPRES—the Romanian news agency—was carried in the March 17 issue of the daily ADEVARUL. The report makes it look as though from the moment we fixed the Hungarian name on the pharmacy, we only gave out medicine to ethnic Hungarians. This is a complete fabrication, lies, a falsification of the facts.

"True, we did make a sign with the word 'pharmacy' (gyogyszertar) written on it in Hungarian, but then we have a legal right to do this. But no way did we apply discrimination when dispensing medicine: For one thing, that wouldn't have been in keeping with the ethics of our profession. When I protested over the false press report, they wouldn't accept my statement", the pharmacist said.

Ms Kormoczky went on to give a detailed report about the events. She said that when the Hungarian sign was painted on Pharmacy No. 28 in the Tudor district of Tirgu Mures—a part mainly occupied by Romanians who were settled there—a sweet-seller named Kovrig, an organized member of Vatra Romaneasca who was standing there, began to protest, and called some of the residents to assemble in front of the pharmacy.

The group burst into the chemist's and ordered those inside into an inner room. There, the employees were threatened, and accused of chauvinism. The group wrecked the place, and then left.

The 18 employees at the chemist's marched to the town's pharmacy headquarters and protested over the action by staging a one-day strike.

"The reason we protested was that the town's residents were incited against us by false information", Ms Kormoczky explained. She said the Romanian mass media are still not inclined to report events in accordance with the facts, and will not provide space for their protest, nor their statement that reveals the facts.

As regards the Western news sources, MTI's Bucahrest correspondent says that this time, like on so many other occasions, they have just "swallowed" the consciously misleading, manipulated communique put out by ROMPRES.

Daily Warns Against Ethnic Extremism

AU2203191590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1629 GMT 22 Mar 90

["A Bitter Anniversary"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—Today, March 22, Romania should have celebrated three months since the fall of Ceausescu's communist dictatorship. But we cannot celebrate the revolution since grave events have been under way in Romania for a few days now which jeopardize its ideals, its budding democracy, ultimately the national being, the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER" shows in an article run in its today's issue.

Underscoring the extremist character of those events, the paper warns over their consequences: the institution of a new dictatorship and or the country's territorial dismemberment.

A reason for anxiety is the recourse during the events and in the opinions expressed to formulas supporting Transylvania's alleged special status between Central and Eastern Europe, a status "de facto," which should become a status "de jure," the newspaper also reads.

Everyone should clearly understand that we cannot build a new sociopolitical system, we cannot strengthen a democratic structure, we cannot renew the economy and we cannot solve the problems the Romanian people in general and the ethnic minorities in particular encounter unless Romania preserves its independence, territorial integrity and national unity. Any initiative ignoring this fundamental prerequisite will adversely affect the destiny of the Romanian revolution in the first place. The only way out of the crisis is dialogue. The Romanian population should understand that the Magyars and all the other national minorities have the right to conserve their ethno-cultural identity and, in their turn, the Magyar population should understand, more than ever before, that their ethno-cultural status can be strengthened only through a harmonious coexistence with the majority Romanian population, the aforesaid newspaper also writes.

Writer Denounces Hungarian 'Chauvinist Minority'

AU2203191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 22 Mar 90

["A Romanian Intellectual Sounds the Alarm"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—In "an honest attempt to meditate, in terms of fair civility, on the earlier or more recent history" and even on the future one, as he defines his own demarche, Romulus Vulpescu speaks up in the article "He Who Draws the Sword-...Harvests Storm" in [the] daily ADEVARUL against the chauvinist minority "who discredits the fair majority of the Hungarian minority" in Romania, a majority which he invites to take "drastic steps for the eradication of neo-"crosses with arrows" revived like in a nightmare, anxious to establish on Romanian land institutions, relations and modalities of coexistence that cannot be applied and as a matter of fact are not applied anywhere in the civilized countries of the rest of the democratic world." [no open quotation marks as received]

"The conservancy of every minority's specific cultural and ethnic heritage is done in Romania in multifarious ways, fully legal and unanimously recognized" writes Romulus Vulpescu.

He concludes the article with an appeal to all Hungarian friends and fellows in literature to seriously think over the indignant bitterness of this "alarm sounded by a Romanian intellectual who is worried about what happens in his country."

PNUC Issues Decree on 20 May Election Date

AU1903160290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1149 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The parliament and president of Romania will be elected on 20 May. The date was set under a decree released today and issued by the Provisional National Unity Council on the basis of the electoral law it endorsed last week.

21 Mar PNUC Session Reviews T. Mures Events

AU2203203790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1937 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—As already reported, a meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] took place on March 21, in the afternoon, chaired by Ion Iliescu, the council's president.

The prime minister, ministers and other executives of central bodies participated as invited guests.

Based on accounts presented by Mr. Ion Iliescu, Colonel General Mihai Chitac, minister of the interior, and Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, they discussed problems connected with the evolution of the events in Tirgu Mures City and the localities around it. The steps were presented, taken by the executive office of the Provisional National Council and by the government with a view to controlling the grave conflict situation and gradually remaking the public order and the conditions for normal unfolding of socio-economic life in all surrounding localities. Emphasis was also placed on the positive reverberation with public opinion both at home and abroad of the declaration endorsed by the Executive Bureau in its March 20 1990 meeting and the appeal it addressed to all citizens of the country, Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities, to show self-control and calm on those moments of tension and to avoid confrontation and violence. The need was stressed of starting a constructive dialogue for the lucid-minded settlement of the issues that generated discord between Romanians and Hungarians in some zones of Transylvania, in the spirit of the principles and democratic values proclaimed by the revolution in December that created new conditions for secured equality of rights of all citizens of the country and the unhampered exercise of the individual and collective rights of the national minorities. It was shown that the investigation commission set up by the Executive Bureau started activity and the first signs of detente showed in Tirgu Mures City. The confidence was expressed that things would go back to normal again.

The state bodies were requested to firmly work in keeping with their legal competences and the measures set for ensuring the immediate restoration of public order and quiet, as well as for the undelayed resumption of activity in all economic, social and cultural domains.

The Executive Bureau calls again on all citizens of the country to show sense of responsibility and lucid-mindedness, to abstain from any action that might generate hatred and discord between Romanians and the national minorities, that would upset the political and social stability in the country, the process of consolidation of the democratic life in Romania.

Steps were then discussed and endorsed on the organization and unfolding of the campaign for the May 20, 1990 elections, that establish the tasks of the government, of ministries and other central bodies.

The Executive Bureau also analyzed some draft decree-laws initiated in various domains of the economic, social and state life that are to be submitted to the session of the Provisional National Unity Council.

The Executive Bureau also settled routine questions.

PNUC Plenary Session Postponed

AU2303115490 Paris AFP in English 1114 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, March 23 (AFP)—Romania's ruling body, the Provisional Council of National Unity (PCNU), has postponed a plenary session due to be held Friday [23 March] because of ethnic violence in Tirgu Mures, official sources said.

Representatives of ethnic minorities on the PCNU strongly criticised the one-week delay due to violence between ethnic Romanians and Hungarians in Tirgu Mures in Transylvania. The violence has left at least eight people dead and 365 injured, according to an official in the town. [passage omitted]

Late on Thursday [22 March] some 1,000 people, most of them ethnic Romanians, continued to demonstrate in the town centre, but there was little sign of the iron bars and chains which had been used in Tuesday's and Wednesday's violence.

Tirgu Mures was calm Friday morning, residents reached by telephone said, but it was too early to say whether a strike by the Hungarian community which began Tuesday [20 March] was over. The town was still being patrolled by armoured vehicles.

Asked why the plenary session of the PCNU—habitually referred to in the press as Romania's parliament—had been postponed, an official said that the government "needs to obtain detailed information on the situation in order to inform parliament and enable it to take decisions in possession of the full facts."

But Ladislas Lorincs, vice-president of the PCNU's minorities commission, said the government "is trying to gain time because it is compromised by the events in Transylvania and does not want to appear before parliament."

A government enquiry commission sent to Tirgu Mures began its work Thursday and was continuing Friday. [passage omitted]

Romanians, Hungarians Should 'Build Up Confidence'

AU2203204490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—Referring to the tense situation in Transylvania, the independent daily "ADEVARUL" writes in an article headlined "Building Up Confidence" that dialogue, conducted in an atmosphere of good faith and respect for the colloquitor, is the only way to solving problems. Noting that there are lucid forces on both sides, who understand that democracy implies a high political and civic responsibility, the paper shows that the imperative of the moment is to build up confidence, which is infinitely more difficult now than two weeks ago.

Surveying the antecedents that led to the situation in Mures County and noting that the Romanian televiewers have watched these days old images of nightmare which revive past times of huge suffering for the Romanian nation, the daily criticizes the present political forces which "blinded by pressing concerns did not realize, or did not want to realize the dangerous course of the events" in Transylvania. Thus the electoral campaign, solemnly announced, began, certainly by pure coincidence, with the tragic events in Transylvania. Many parties reacted late and formally. In their turn, and through what they did, the central authorities left the impression that a whole part of the country (Transylvania) was ignored and left to find its way out of the escalating ethnic passions; while the local authorities were taken by surprise by the action of large masses of people and overcome by the fast course of the events that started on 15 March. At present there is no other way of normalizing the situation but to build up confidence.

Liberal Party, Hungarian Union on Unrest

AU2303084490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The National Liberal Party and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania emphasized in a joint statement that the provocative actions causing confusion and tension in Tirgu Mures aim at destabilizing the country. They are organized by both domestic elements who fear that their privileges guaranteed by the former dictatorship are threatened and by foreign reactionary circles of Hungarian irredentism and Romanian nationalist extremism.

The two parties distance themselves from both these circles with great conviction and advocate respect for national sovereignty, current borders, and for the united framework of the Romanian state.

To eliminate any doubt about their intentions, the two parties state the following:

1. The Romanian language is the official language in the state.
2. Peaceful and realistic dialogue is the only tangible way to solve the specific problems of the minorities.
3. The Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin, who are represented by the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, do not want Transylvania's autonomy or the autonomy of any of its areas.
4. The Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin represented by the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania do not want the affiliation of Transylvania with Hungary, but, on the contrary, the integration of the Hungarian community into the joint efforts aimed at the economic, political, social, and cultural restoration of Romania on its way toward a Europe of the future.
5. We are categorically against using interethnic conflicts as the basis for an electoral platform at home or abroad.
6. The Romania of the future and of democracy—at the political level—and of free initiative—at the economic level—can be achieved only by completely eliminating interethnic conflicts.
7. Respect for cultural diversity means, in our opinion, the right to use one's mother tongue in education, a fact that will be sanctioned by the education law worked out on the basis of Romania's new constitution.
8. The right to the existence of cultural and religious institutions of the ethnic minorities, administrative decentralization, which also includes the use of one's mother tongue, is one of the important levers of Romania's liberal restoration.
9. Our common history has to be written again in the spirit of truth by eliminating all distortions caused by totalitarianism in Romania and Hungary.
10. The development of political, socioeconomic, and cultural relations with all our neighbors involved in the current democratization process characteristic of the current era should not be affected by chauvinism.

This statement is signed by Mr Radu Campeanu on behalf of the National Liberal Party, and by Geza Domokos on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

Tokes To Appeal for Hungarian Minority in U.S.

LD2303093590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Laszlo Tokes has changed his original plans because of the latest developments in Transylvania. He will not depart for home from Canada but will travel instead to Washington, where he will ask the government and legislature to support the Hungarian minority in Romania.

Daily Protests School Separation Claims

AU2103180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1504 GMT 21 Mar 90

["Romanians Claim Equal Rights With Hungarians"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/3/1990—Daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" writes that Mihai Sora, the minister of education, received not long ago a group of teachers and parents from the County of Harghita who came to claim to the ministry concerned, and eventually to the government, equal rights with the Hungarian minority for the Romanians in that area.

The schools in Miercurea Ciuc and Odorheiu Secuiesc are Hungarian-only now, they said, as the Romanian children and students were forced, by the Hungarian teachers' behaviour to "opt" out of various schools and leave them en masse. 129 students of the medical high school at Odorheiu Secuiesc moved to Brasov where there is a similar high school. No position for the Romanian department was requested by the management of the high school in Odorheiu Secuiesc for the 1990-1991 school year. Furthermore, eight Romanian teachers from the pedagogical high school in the same city had no choice but to leave when one Hungarian teacher threatened them that all the Hungarian population of the city would be up against them unless they quit. Not long ago the "HARGHITA TRUTH" newspaper took up an article from a Hungarian newspaper which said that persons with Latin names should not be seen in the streets of the city any longer. The history and geography of Romania are now taught in Harghita from books coming directly from Budapest. The separation of schools into Hungarian and Romanian ended up in the lay-off of 250 Romanian teachers of various subjects who are leaving the county, and in the inclusion of the few remaining Romanian schoolchildren in Hungarian classes. At Miercurea Ciuc there are plans for just one Romanian-language general school (more than 1,600 children in 16 classrooms) and for one Romanian-language school centre including all high-school and vocational school specialties (about 900 children). The directors of the two local industrial high schools said they would not accept any Romanian class in their schools since the sponsor enterprises do not need Romanians.

In the last month, schools were named only after Hungarian personalities, and the county school inspectorate works as Minister Sora's Harghita visitors said on instruction from Budapest where inspectors are systematically sent, among other things also with a one-copy report in Hungarian that contains information on the number of schools, attendance, teachers, by nationality.

The idea of school separation, imposed as an ultimatum by the ex-deputy minister of education, Attila Palfalvyi, and continuing to work also after his dismissal, has bred tension in the Romanian population since which perceives behind it a growing discrimination extending to other areas of social and political life there, "ROMANIA LIBERA" notes.

In the spirit of mutual respect for national sentiment, of guarantees for equal rights and legal decision making, the Romanians in Harghita County require that a commission be set up on the national parity principle to negotiate solutions for the current year, but also for the next years.

Causes of Romanian Events Analyzed

LD2203160490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] In Romania, written documents have been found stating that the Ceausescu regime deliberately wanted to weaken Magyardom in Transylvania. One of the leaders of the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania said: There is evidence that a party resolution laid down how many thousands of Romanian families must be settled in Magyar-inhabited regions over how many years.

Bela Nagy, in MAGYAR SZO of Yugoslavia [as heard], also analyzed the causes of the Tirgu Mures events. In his view, after the December turnabout, the nationalism and chauvinism which until then had been centrally directed and regulated by the dictatorship came to the surface. Space was given in the press, in the course of the political roll-back, to chauvinistic manifestations whose primary target was the Transylvanian Magyars, who number 2.5 million. Despite all this, the Magyars in Romania do not want to reply to the grievances with nationalism. They still wish to politicize within legal frameworks, the member of the presidium of the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania said.

Statistical Data on Population by Nationality

AU2203123590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Population—Romania's Population by Nationality"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—According to the last three censuses, Romania's population increased from 17,489,500 in 1956, to 19,103,200 in 1966 and to 21,559,900 in 1977. The following is the picture of the population by nationality:

The number of Romanians has grown from 14,996,100 (85.7 per cent of the total) in 1950, to 16,746,500 (87.7 per cent) in 1966 and 18,997,400 (88.12) in 1977.

The Hungarian population has increased from 1,587,700 (9.1 per cent of the total) in 1956, to 1,619,600 (8.5 per cent) in 1966 and 1,713,900 (7.9 per cent) in 1977. In 21 years, the number of ethnic Hungarians increased but their percentage of the total population dropped moderately.

Ethnic Germans numbered 384,700 (2.2 per cent of the total) in 1956, 382,600 (2 per cent) in 1966, and 359,100 (1.7 per cent) in 1977. Emigration is the explanation for the declining number and percentage of ethnic Germans.

The censuses show a growing number of gypsies (Romanis) 104,200 (0.6 per cent of the total) in 1956, to 227,400 (1.1 per cent) in 1977.

Other nationalities numbered 416,800 (2.4 per cent of the total) in 1956, 290,300 (1.5 per cent) in 1966 and 262,100 (1.2 per cent) in 1977. Of them, there were in 1977: 54,453 Ukrainians, 34,429 Serbians, 24,667 Jews, 23,422 Turks, 23,369 Tartars, 21,286 Slovaks, 21,206 Russians, 11,490 Lipovani, 10,372 Bulgarians, 7,689 Czechs, 7,500 Croatians, 6,262 Greeks, 4,641 Poles, 2,342 Armenians, 1,251 Slovenes, 1,176 Macedoromanians, 982 Aromanians, 4,082 other nationalities. 452 did not register at all.

Commenting on the above figures, Dr. Vasile Ghetau, director of the population statistics division of Romania's National Commission for Statisics, member of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population and of the International Association of French-Speaking Demographers, and a United Nations [study] on population, said: in all population consensus in interwar Romania, both the nationality and the mother tongue were items included in questionnaires which were filled [out] on the basis of the respondents' free statements. So population census data are fair, he said, and added that only people of all faith or interested circles could question them. The latter was the case of a foreign radio broadcasting in Romanian which supplied untrue figures concerning the actual number of certain nationalities in Romania. Since no population census has been made in Romania for the past 13 years, the specialty statistics body has attempted a rough estimate of the present situation. Starting from the figures supplied by the January 5 1977 census, and considering vital statistics as well as the rate of emigration by nationality since then, the total population at the beginning of 1988 when was estimated at 23,004 thousand, with the following structure by nationality: Romanian 20,734.7 thousand (90.1 per cent of the total), Hungarian 1,753.2 thousand (7.6 per cent), German 239,7 thousand (1.1 per cent), other 276.4 thousand (1.2 per cent).

Turkish-Muslim Union Pledges Loyalty to Country

AU2203203890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—The ethno-confessional organization representing the whole Turkish-Tartar community in Romania expresses concern over the nationalist excess in a number of Transylvanian towns, a statement to "ROMPRES" by the Turkish-Muslim Democratic Union of Romania shows, insistently calling on all political parties, groupings and elements, on the country's population as a whole to be calm, lucid and moderate.

We all, no matter our nationality, passed through the long night of dictatorship together and together, we won the holy light of freedom. It is unjust and dangerous to allow that light to blind us now as to lose our reason and our sense of measure.

The fundamental principle of conduct of the Turkish-Tartar community in Romania was and is loyalty to the sovereign, independent and unitary Romanian state, within its national borders, the statement also shows.

Hard Currency Norms for Private Enterprises

AU1903183790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1626 GMT 19 Mar 90

["How Can one Use the Hard Currency"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The private enterprises of any kind in Romania are allowed to get hard currency from abroad both to finance their setting up and to unfold current activities. In connection with the specific way of using hard currency funds and accounts, the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade has established the following norms: On registering hard currency amounts received by any private enterprise from a foreign person or firm, the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade does not commit itself in any way to pay back to those who send the hard currency from abroad, no matter the title under which the money was received. The credits received as part of financing can be paid back only upon instruction from small enterprises as well as in other modalities established under the credit contract.

The bank may, however, guarantee the paying back of the credits received from abroad by private enterprises on a contract basis and in warrant terms claimed by it. Any private unit may open an account in hard currency only with the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade: the hard currency accounts may be open by private enterprise for the following currencies: pound sterling, Australian dollar, Austrian schilling, Belgian franc, Canadian dollar, Danish kroner, Swiss franc, French franc, Finnish markka, FRG mark, Italian lira, Japanese yen, Luxembourg franc, Norwegian kroner, Dutch guilder, U.S. dollar, Swedish kroner, Spanish peseta.

After opening, the hard currency accounts of the small private units are fed with amounts accounting for 50 per cent of the export takings of the units, the remainder 50 per cent being settled up by the bank in lei, at the exchange rate in force at the date of cashing the hard currency; the private units may open accounts also in other currencies quoted by the National Bank, apart from the above listed currencies.

The money on those accounts can be used for payments abroad but only in the foreign currency in which the availabilities are expressed, as well as for payments in lei at home, if the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade buys such currencies; the payments from the account are made based on the order of the private unit's executives or the persons commissioned by them, but only within the limits of the amount on the account. The import payment is made only upon licence from the Ministry of Foreign Trade; hard currency interest is granted for availabilities on hard currency accounts; for the smooth operation of the banking operations in hard currency the bank ensures the needed specialty assistance to the private units.

Daily Warns of Inflation's Destabilizing Effect

AU2003121290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0854 GMT 20 Mar 90

["The Spectre of Inflation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1990—Under the heading "We Have the Money, But Not What It Can Buy" newspaper "ROMANIA MUNCITOARE," the press organ of the free trade unions, writes among other things:

Far from being a fact, inflation with all its array of destabilizing effects—at the macroeconomic level as well as on the family purse—is nevertheless a real threat.

Efforts were made and yet the market cannot offer us an abundant supply of highly diverse commodities that could set the money supply in motion in a healthy, stable and balanced way. This opens the door to illicit business, to speculation, to an arbitrary change of price.

There are many ways to stop that. The most obvious are to "freeze" both wages and prices. But this is just the face of the problem. Because the substance remains: a shortage of commodities.

Can the Romanian economy fight this phenomenon?

It certainly can.

The main question is to change the structure of production not sometime in future, but immediately, as part of the same programme. In other words, the proportion between the closed-circuit production and the production of consumer goods that can absorb a good part, if not all the surplus money supply, should be reconsidered. In context, the consumer goods industry must be oriented to high-value products that sell easily.

Hence the restructuring of the production programmes of the consumer goods industry. It should not be made at random, but take the demand into account. While planning their production, enterprises must sound the demand: on a limited area, in small groups, by constantly renewing their catalogues of production, by improving its quality and design.

In the face of new, quality functional and above all modern products, after such a long time when one had to make do with a narrow choice, the buyer will open the strings of his purse. This will ease the pressure of the inert money supply. And with it, a possible chance for inflation to pick up will be dismissed.

'Nefarious' 1989 Demographic Statistics Issued

AU2303102490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0817 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/3/1990—Data supplied by the National Statistics Board of Romania attest to the nefarious consequences of the demographic policy promoted during Ceausescu's dictatorship.

The major indicators on the population's natural movement in 1989, computed in 1,000 inhabitants, are: birth rate—15.9, general death rate—10.7, natural population's growth—5.2—all of them lower than in previous years. Infant mortality stood at 27 infants, who died before the age of one, in 1,000 live-borns, an indicator that is 2-3 times higher than those in all the other European countries and has been increasing continuously in the last few years, as a direct outcome of the deterioration of living conditions and of medical assistance.

The average span of life over 1986-1988 was of 69.27 years for both sexes—66.30 years for men and 72.32 years for women—dropping as to the 1985-1987 interval. Romania places the 27th in 33 countries in point of the average span of life for men and on the 28th standing in the case of the average life span for women.

1,000 Students Poisoned by 'Nerve Gas'

LD2203144690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The chronicle of events regarding mass poisoning of secondary school students in Padujevo today is supplemented with new information about similar cases in Vucitrn, Titova, Mitrovica, Pristina, and Prizren. According to incomplete information, about 1,000 students were poisoned in school classes from nerve-gas canisters, and seven people of Serbian and Montengrin nationality are detained in the municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Podujevo for poisoning.

Kosovo Movement Protests

LD2203145390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's news conference, the Kosovo alternative movement presented journalists with a statement in which the movement vehemently protests the fact that no official explanation of causes of poisoning among secondary schoolchildren in Podujevo has been received for three days. The Social Democrats warn that this could have serious consequences. They demand the urgent formation of a federal commission to clarify the case.

Before he presented information about "the poisoning," Dr. Zekerija Cana said that mass transfer of students of elementary and secondary schools from Podujevo to clinics in Pristina, from where he has just arrived, is under way, that "the situation is desperate and disturbing for everyone valuing civilization," and that, as he put it, "mass poisoning with unknown chemical substances" occurred.

The situation in Podujevo is alarming, Suroi cautioned. More than 1,000 persons, mainly children were transferred to hospitals in Pristina. Suroi informed the journalists about the appeal of doctors (who, as he said, do not seem to be able to find out what is involved) to colleagues from the country to come and establish what substance is involved.

On behalf of the initiative committee of the Social Democratic Party, Skeljzen Malici read two open letters sent to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Assembly in which "they oppose the current initiative to commence changing the SFRY Constitution." This "initiative cannot be accepted as legitimate as long as the state of emergency is in effect in a part of the country, and a certain number of people have limited political rights."

Coerced change to institutions under these conditions would influence the rise in dissatisfaction among Albanians, the Social Democrats caution, and "could cause other dangerous consequences."

The second letter, which is also sent to the Kosovo Assembly, demands that the Kosovo Executive Council "clarify circumstances under which decisions to separate students on a nationality basis were made." According to them, the decisions "proved the inability of the provincial executive council to deal with problems and also showed its humiliating, inferior status before the Serbian Executive Council because the decisions were made, according to the alternative movement, in Belgrade, and Radmilo Bogdanovic and Danilo Markovic heralded them."

Victims' Deaths Unlikely

LD2203152690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—A number of citizens, mainly from Podujevo, this morning sought medical help at the medical faculty in Pristina. All those who arrived are accommodated in the hospital and are under medical treatment. According to doctors' findings, no patient is in mortal danger. So far, about 200 people are accommodated. All medical staff are engaged and carrying out their duties, Kosovo Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu told journalists after a meeting with the leaders of the medical faculty.

Health authorities in the province, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Yugoslavia have worked out a medical assistance plan and a plan for engaging health experts with appropriate equipment and medications in giving medical help and in identifying the cause of the discomfort from which a number of people suffer.

Regarding the claim that a person in Podujevo has been allegedly throwing "poison gas," Zejnulahu said that one should not be taken in by such misinformation and that panic should not be spread, especially since no one is in mortal danger. At this moment it is most important to give medical care to and examine all those who seek help and are suffering.

Neither Zejnulahu nor the medical faculty dean, Aljus Gasi, answered a question about the nationality of the patients. In connection with this, Gasi said: In this first phase, it is most important to receive and treat sick people. We formed a team of experts that will give the official information about multiple symptoms at today 1500.

To a journalist's question on whether there were similar cases during the past few days, Aljus Gasi said that yesterday and the day before, patients were coming with the same symptoms, and only two were detained at one of the clinics. Patients coming today are placed in all clinics where there are free beds.

The medical faculty, within the context of its competencies, is in permanent touch with official bodies. on 21 March, the provincial secretaries for health and education visited patients and talked with them.

Schoolchildren Sent Home

LD2203174190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—Virtually no schools were in operation in Pristina today. Pupils did turn up for lessons, but after a quarter of an hour, because of the panic created by the alleged mass poisoning of pupils in Podujevo, they left school. At some primary schools, parents took their children home on their own initiative out of fear of the large crowds and unrest, while at others the pupils were sent home by their teachers.

The relevant education bodies are not excluding the possibility that the spreading of panic and tension and everything that has been happening in Pristina today are in fact an attempt to prevent the recommencement of work in schools that was envisioned for Monday. Schools were not working today in Podujevo either, where the alleged poisoning of pupils took place. [passage omitted: boycotts of classes in Serbo-Croat and Albanian still taking place]

Poison Gas Rumor Causes Unrest

AU2203202890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] The situation in Kosovo has intensified dramatically because of the claim that Albanians in Podujevo and Urosevac have been poisoned with gas. There have been interethnic clashes. Nebojsa Spajic reports:

[Begin Spajic recording] The situation in Kosovo is critical. There have been interethnic clashes in Podujevo. Albanians were checking the identification of Serbs and Montenegrins on the streets and then beating them up. Sixteen people have been injured, one badly.

This new deterioration in the situation in Kosovo arose this morning when children in Podujevo school playgrounds began to fall to the ground. The rumor spread that the air had been poisoned. At the same moment, say eyewitnesses, several hundred cars and ambulances rushed into the school playgrounds to take the school children to the clinical center in Pristina.

About 4,000 Albanians gathered in the town's streets. They pushed their way into the building of the Communal Committee several times and then checked the identification of workers and maltreated them. Albanian militiamen entered Serbian houses and apartments without warrants and searched them. Pharmacist Slobodan Cvetkovic was taken out of his apartment, beaten up by the Albanians that had gathered, and then militiamen took him to the militia station after having calmly observed all this.

Serb and Montenegrin schoolchildren in Podujevo could hardly get into a train after they were attacked by a group of Albanians. The situation was similar in Urosevac and Vucitrn. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Rioting in Podujevo

LD2203201390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Podujevo, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—As many times before, Podujevo was today the scene of rioting by Albanian nationalists and separatists, who were allegedly outraged over the case of poisoning of Albanian children. A group of mainly young Albanians attacked Serbian and Montenegrin schoolchildren and accused them of poisoning their friends. On that occasion, it has been learned, 20 schoolchildren were injured.

Witnesses claim that nationalists mercilessly beat the schoolchildren, pulled their hair out, and threatened to kill them if anyone who was "poisoned" dies. Then they took the beaten-up Serbian and Montenegrin schoolchildren to police patrols. [passage omitted]

Albanian nationalists also tried to attack several houses belonging to Serbs and Montenegrins in Podujevo, but they [residents] barricaded themselves in.

Podujevo has been almost in a state of siege since this morning. Albanian extremists controlled approaches to this town and demanded identification papers from journalists, photographers, and others too. Roads leading to Pristina were jammed with cars and other vehicles, which transported the allegedly poisoned children with great speed and sounds of sirens, and even with hands raised in the "V" sign, to hospitals in Pristina.

At about 1600, terrorists stopped a rail car on the Nis-Pristina route at the train station in Podujevo. As if in a thriller, they jumped into the rail car searching for a man who "poisoned the water in Podujevo."

So far, there is no official information either about nationalist rioting or about whether the police detained anyone.

Media Reactions to Poisoning

AU2203213890

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 22 March begins its 32-minute regular newscast with a 13-minute bloc of news devoted to reported cases of mass poisoning of children in various communes.

The first item is a four-minute report, heard with poor reception, of a news conference addressed by the head of the Medical Faculty in Pristina, Dr. Alus Gasi. Dr. Gasi begins his statement saying that a special team has been formed to investigate the cases of poisoning, adding that 417 cases have been admitted to the Medical Faculty Clinic, mostly from Podujevo. He also states that there have also been arrivals from the commune of Urosevac. Most victims examined have been found to have difficulty with their respiratory organs, Dr. Gasi adds. After describing the analyses carried out at the Medical Faculty Clinic in Pristina, he adds that other analyses will be carried out in other medical centers in the country, giving no indication as to the cause of the symptoms.

This is followed by reports on the situation in various communes, the first one being Podujevo. A reporter says that people have been coming to the local hospital for treatment throughout the day, adding that "great indignation has been caused among all citizens in the commune by this grave act, which will never be forgotten in these parts and which, regardless of who the perpetrators may be, will be condemned by history." The reporter adds that over 300 pupils in the commune of Podujevo have been given first aid, most of whom have been sent to the Medical Faculty Clinic in Pristina. He concludes by saying: "The situation in the commune is rather grave and tense," adding that "nobody is working; everyone remains near their radios or televisions in order to follow developments in this most grave event in years." Citizens meetings are being held in various localities and demands are being made for the case to be clarified as quickly as possible.

The next report is from Titova Mitrovica, in which a reporter says that "300 children, workers, and citizens have been brought to local hospitals by bus or private cars," adding that "according to physicians, the symptoms may have been caused by some kind of as yet unidentified toxic substance." The reporter also says that "in most cases the victims are suffering from cramps in their jaws and limbs." A number of patients returned to their homes after being given first aid. The reporter says that an emergency meeting of the communal executive committee issued a communique stating among other things: "According to a declaration by the hospital's director, Dobroslav Orlic, a special team was set up immediately after the arrival of the first patient. The staff is fully mobilized. For the time being most of the patients have shown symptoms of convulsive [word indistinct] reactions on a psychological subjective basis. However, the possibility of other causes cannot be ruled out." The reporter adds that "according to the communique none of the patients are gravely ill, while an examination of the city's water supply has shown that it is drinkable." According to the reporter, some medical students who were brought in to assist in treating the patients began to show the same symptoms, and this happened also to a physician and to a militiaman. At the time of reporting, more patients are being brought in.

This is followed by a report from Pec, in which a correspondent says that "this has caused a grave psychosis among all citizens," adding that by about 1700 six pupils had come to the local hospital asking for first aid "suffering from the same symptoms: dizziness, drowsiness, and trembling." All of them were released after treatment.

A brief report from Gnjilane says that a number of children fainted suddenly and were taken to the local hospital. Altogether about 100 pupils asked to be given first aid. Another report says that about 150 children asked for medical assistance in the city of Urosevac. The announcer says also that "according to our correspondent in Urosevac, he was informed by the local hospital staff that people sent to Pristina for further examination were forced to return by authorized militia personnel."

This is followed by an announcer calling on citizens "not to be influenced by provocations and disinformation in connection with the taking of schoolchildren and citizens to hospitals for first aid treatment. The medical institutions and the authorities are in full control of the situation and are taking all the necessary measures. There is therefore no need for panic, especially since in no case has anybody's life been in danger."

This is followed by a report that Pristina University students have appealed for calm and called on citizens "not to be provoked and not to take to the streets."

A meeting of parents and pupils took place in the Boro and Ramiz Cultural Center in Pristina to examine the situation in the schools and the possibilities of continuing the education process. The announcer says that they issued a communique stating: "We, parents and pupils, and all other citizens are experiencing a grave and, more recently, even unprecedented situation. We therefore protest energetically and call for a complete investigation of the cases of toxic poisoning in the schools of Podujevo and elsewhere.

A strong protest and a demand for a complete investigation of the matter is also included in a communique issued by the Kosovo Social Democratic Party at a news conference in Pristina complaining about the "failure of the authorities to give an official explanation of the case of poisoning involving schoolchildren in Podujevo and elsewhere."

Kosovo 'Extremely Tense'

AU2303093690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0831 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report from Kosovo]

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is extremely tense. Telephone lines to Podujevo, where the situation was most serious on 22 March and where there was interethnic unrest, are down. Otherwise, about 30 Serbs and Montenegrins from the (?village of) Devet Jugovic have gathered outside the communal assembly building in Pristina. They are protesting because a group of Albanians attacked their village yesterday and maltreated them. There was also fighting. We have spoken to them and we will be broadcasting our recording during the program.

Otherwise, we are receiving reports about interethnic conflicts in various places in Kosovo but we will report on them once we have checked them.

All this is a consequence of the alleged poisoning of Albanian schoolchildren in Podujevo, Urosevac, and Vucitrn. Therefore, the results of laboratory analyses that will either deny or confirm the rumors about selective poisoning according to nationality are being awaited with great interest.

Otherwise, students' halls of residence are being opened again in Pristina today. Serbs and Montenegrins will be moved into hall five and if they want to, Albanians can be accommodated in the hundred extra beds that will be left over.

Main roads in Kosovo are passable even though there were barricades in the area around Podujevo this morning.

This is all for now.

Situation 'Becoming Complicated'

LD2303133190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Crotian 1215 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—As if according to a precise scenario, the situation in Kosovo is again becoming complicated and is increasingly threatening to take on dramatic proportions, with all the ingredients of interethnic conflicts.

The Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Presidium has assessed, it is reported, that those involved in the latest events are the same people who organized the separatist demonstrations and whose aim is to homogenize Albanians through the unscrupulous methods of special warfare on a nationalistic platform, pushing them into a collective confrontation with other nations and nationalities.

The mysterious epidemic of alleged poisoning has today spread to most municipal centers in the Province. It has been announced that early this afteroon the finding on this unusual illness will be made public at the Dean's Office of the Pristina Faculty of Medicine.

An extraordinary session of the Kosovo Executive Council has also been called for today.

Pristina TV Condemns 'Neo-Chetnik Ideology'

AU2203201290 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Mar 90 p 2

[Pristina Television commentary: "Anti-Titoism and Anti-Albanianism!"]

[Text] What took place at the meeting of Serbian political parties in Belgrade on last Friday has again been loudly repeated with the same coarse language of intolerance and hatred and the same iconography, recalling the blackest days in the history of this region, and warning of the atavistic resurgence of the darkest ideologies. This happened on 15 March in Lipljan, when a protest meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins was put under the saber- rattling command of the Kosovo Polje Peony Association, which has in these disturbed times has become the most baleful mouthpiece for ethnic hatred against the Albanians and others, and has donned the ideological garb of outright, brutal, even sadistic anti-Titoism. The protagonists of this clamorous campaign against Tito do not confine themselves to raising their voices against Tito himself, but also set themselves against the revolution and AVNOJ [Antifascist National Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, in order to impose a Yugoslavia that would become nothing other than a grave and prison for the peoples, as was the Yugoslav kingdom. Those present not only failed to provide the necessary response to all these so-called gems of neo-Chetnik ideology, which involve the unitarist concept of the rule of one people over other peoples, one language over other languages, one culture over other cultures, and in the last analysis one form of history over others; on the contrary, the rowdy mob welcomed them with prolonged applause. One must ask how it was possible for the shout from the rostrum, "It is a disgrace for us to meet in this hall where Tito's photograph hangs," to pass without immediate condemnation.

Inevitably nobody dared to protest, just as nobody has protested on previous occasions, and now, as before, the leaders of this anti-Titoism and anti-Albanianism will go unpunished, and will not be issued even the most perfunctory warning. This absence of contrary measures is beginning to indicate that certain circles have long projected anti-Titoism as one of the ways to bring down AVNOJ Yugoslavia. Anti-Titoism has now become a platform for the murkiest formal and informal political circles, and anti-Titoism has recently been used as a means of spreading anti-Albanianism.

Indignant at the vocabulary, intonations, and frank iconography of this and other similar gatherings, we call, in the name of human values and a common life, and above all in the name of the equality of all nationalities, for a responsible response from all those whose duty it is to act against and combat such eruptions of the darkest ideologies, whose representatives have now been emboldened to stalk the stalk the streets like zombies, foretelling blood, war, and interethnic catastrophe.

Kosovo Intellectuals Appeal for 'Patience'

AU2203114590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Mar 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "For Peace, Wisdom, and Moderation"]

[Text] A chaotic situation, which daily becomes more serious and fraught, has been created in the Kosovo education system, especially at secondary and university levels. Everybody knows the reasons for this, but it is nevertheless no exaggeration to stress again that some provincial and republican state authorities played and continue to play the main role in creating such a situation, by creating confusion through their incitements and unprecedented neglect, and failing to introluce order and defend the immunity of schools, as the rule of law would require.

It is clear that the pacification of the situation and the creation of conditions for normal life, in which reason and open dialogue among all those who want peace, modern civilization, and prosperity for all would predominate, does not serve somebody's purpose. The recently created conflicts in Kosovo now threaten to enter a new phase, even more sensitive and dangerous from the interethnic point of view. Some forces probably cannot imagine Kosovo as anything but a breeding ground of conflict and see life as only possible there under a state of emergency, with the suspension of political, civil, and democratic rights. It must be said clearly: The majority will defend the rights of the minority in Kosovo, and only the majority can guarantee them, just as the majority must defend the rights of the minority in Yugoslavia and be their guarantor.

Considering the situation in which we find ourselves and the possibility of its further escalation, we once again call on school pupils, students, and teachers to show their maturity, moderation, and patience in the deep conviction that they will testify in their work and quiet and moderate behavior to their unswerving adherence to the positive values of modern European civilization, which no force can inhibit or deny. School pupils, students, teachers, and parents must be assured that segregation is not a goal in itself, that it can achieve nothing in this region, and that it is a transitory evil with transparent purposes that will, in the end, be a shameful episode in the Europe of the days that are to come. Pupils, students, teachers, and parents! You must see clearly that there is a crisis in the conception of how to solve the Kosovo problem held by certain forces and circles. They cannot imagine this area without conflict, peaceful, free, civilized, and open to democratic processes. It is clearly evident that the segregation now demanded is an absurdity in itself. All of us who have signed this open letter therefore ask you to continue your studies quietly and in a disciplined way, where you are now, and as you have been told, even if segregated. We are convinced that in this way you will have more to gain, and that those who plan for such segregation will lose. Time works for those who are patient and who keep cool heads.

These are extracts from the open letter to the public signed by: Academician Idriz Ajeti, Academician Rexhep Qosja, Dr. Fehmi Agani, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, Ali Podrimja, Dr. Ali Aliu, Dr. Hivzi Islami, Dr. Zenel Kelmendi, Dr. Rexhep Ismajli, Dr. Ymer Jaka, Mehmet Kraja, Dr. Gani Bobi, Luljeta Beqiri, Dr. Murat Blaku, Beqir Musliu, and others.

Democratic Alliance Premises Ordered To Close

AU2203113690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Mar 90 p 5

[Z.H. report: "Order to Close Premises"]

[Text] Djakovica 14 Mar—After the order of the SPI [expansion unknown] of the Djakovica Communal Assembly to close the premises of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [KDA], which was subsequently withdrawn as invalid, an order forbidding the founding assembly of the Djakovica Branch of the KDA came from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. On 14 March, a further order from the same body arrived at the Alliance's address, ordering the closure of the KDA's premises on the grounds that the branch had not yet been registered with the relevant authorities. It is true that the Djakovica branch of the KDA is not yet registered because, among other things, the assembly to form it has not yet been allowed. How can it be registered when it is not allowed to be formed?

We take this ban to be not only an outright attack on our members, but against democratic aspirations in general, the communique stresses, among other things.

Kertes Promises Immigrants To 'Be Expelled'

AU2203105990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 90 p 4

[I. Radovanovic report: "Honest People Are Still Fearful"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—A "great Yugoslav rally for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo" was held on 10 March by around 300 people who had gathered in front of the building of the Kaludjerica local community.

The previously loudly announced rally was quite appropriate to the atmosphere of the largest (and probably richest) shantytown in the Balkans, whose activists had made hearty efforts to ensure everything was as it should be.

Cassettes of patriotic songs were played and a list was organized for those who wanted to sign up to return to Kosovo (15 people applied) and Mihalj Kertes, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, also spoke.

He also caused the most euphoria (the crowd of 300 chanted "Kertes! Kertes!) when in only a few words he promised very much to the Kaludjerica people and the "Yugoslav public." He promised that despite opposition from a part of the federal leadership and some members of the SFRY Presidency, the first immigrants with "terrorist links" would soon be expelled, that Serbia would not abandon its way of resolving the Kosovo problem even though it may remain by itself, and that, if Serbia collapses, Yugoslavia would collapse too. All those who had gathered welcomed this with applause and shouts of "Hear, hear!"

Otherwise, after a group of young boys carrying pictures of Milosevic (four), Jovic, King Nikola [of Montenegro], Vuk [Stefanovic Karadzic, early 19th century Serbian man of letters], and Karadjordje [leader of the first Serbian uprising] had lined up in the first rows of the crowd, the rally was begun by Milovan Tijanic, president of the Kaludjerica committee for the return to and settlement of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Committee Claims 36 Dead in Unrest

AU2303080590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 90 p 5

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "A List on the Conscience of the Militia"]

[Text] Pristina—The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina on 13 March issued a report on the beating up, harassment, persecution, and killing of citizens on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo during January, February, and March 1990. According to this report, which is signed by the committee's president, the academician Idriz Ajeti, "public security organs and particularly the units of the combined militia unit often harassed people of any age and sex in towns and villages, on the street, and in public places and other locations in the province of Kosovo." Ajeti claims that "citizens were subjected to beatings and harassment and disgusting curses and insults on the basis of their nationality."

"During the protest meetings and public demonstrations, 141 people were wounded and 36 people were either killed or succumbed to their injuries in the period from 3 January to 6 March 1990."

It is said that the young man Remzi Gasi was "beaten up on 29 January by three militiamen who followed him into a shoe store in Urosevac." As for the imam of the mosque in Musutiste near Suva Reka, Mullah Mehdi Effendi Hodza, they say that "militiamen of the combined unit beat him up for no reason whatsoever in full view of passers-by in the center of the town."

"Haki Morina, Vehbi Klaic, Sukri Ali, Seljami Dermaku, somebody named Bislim with one of his friends, Sadri Kastrati, and Agim Masini were dragged out of Sadri Kastrati's kebab shop in Kosovska Kamenica at 1820 on 29 January and mercilessly beaten."

"Perim Taci from Caparac was beaten unconscious by three militiamen of the combined unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs after he was stopped near the militia station while returning home at around 1400 with a tractor loaded with goods for his shop." They say further that "on 31 January, three militiamen beat up and seriously injured Murtez Zara and Saban Zalicic"; "at 1500, a group of four militiamen in the village of Banjica near Istok attacked the brothers Muharem and Haki Tahir Maksutaj in their house," and then "Muharem's wife, Zoja." It is stated that "16 drivers from the paper factory in Lipljan are protesting that they are beaten and maltreated every day by public security organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, while they carry out their tasks as drivers."

According to the discoveries of the so-called "Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms" in Pristina, "on 1 February in the village of Ljubidzi, militiamen for some reason beat up a father and son, Saban Tafilja and his 11-year old son Bajram from Velika Jablanica." The committee also claims that while checking identifications in Malisevo, militiamen injured Remzija Taci from the village of Mirus and hit the back of her head and that she lost consciousness, and that "Fadilj Bunjaku, Salih Sadiku, and Faruk Beca were mercilessly beaten up...." "They also caused Murvete E. Reka to lose a lot of blood." According to this committee's report, the following people were "harassed and beaten": Aziz Hisenaj from Petrovo; Halil Zeciri from Pristina; Hadzi Aslani from Urosevac; sisters Muradije and Valdete Krasnici from Titova Mitrovica; Becir Maljsaku from the village of Drenovac near Orahovac; schoolgirl Besnike Uka from Pristina; schoolboy Naim Redza; Hamit Buja; Ramadan Ratkoceri; Isljam Selimi; the young man Enver Sahiti; and schoolchildren Husni Musliu, Rasim Redza, Ljuljim Kurtisi, and Ljatif Ljata....

"Militiamen beat up Ramadan Hajvezi from the village of Korenica so badly that they were forced to take him to Zagreb for medical treatment."

In the report, every name is accompanied by the place where the people were "maltreated, harassed, and beaten up" and in what way. These include the names of Valdete A. Satri, Jeton Muslim Aliu, Vehbi Rafun, Blerim Pajaziti, Sadik Causi, Jeton and Misin Aliu, Bedri Lumnica, Taip Zeka, Zenun Pajaziti, and Ahmet Isufi.

Another 100 cases are cited.

As regards Isuf Buci in Gnjilane, they say that on 19 February "militiamen entered his house and set his front door alight and broke the door to the bathroom;" and as regards Diku Hubani in Decani, they say, "three ethnic Serbian women attacked him, wounded him, and threatened to kill him."

"RILINDJA and Pristina Television journalists were chased in Gnjilane and a Radio Gnjilane journalist was caught and beaten up by militiamen." This was done in full view of the officials, Aleksandar Peric and Branko Zigon, who did not even try to prevent this beating," the committee claims. They claim that "militia entered several courtyards in Djakovica and threw tear gas for no reason whatsoever, thus causing panic among citizens. They also claim that "in Istok 60 workers of the metal construction factory were beaten up and maltreated," as well as the same number at the Boris Kidric metal factory in Pec. Along with cases from 24 February, they also cite the following: "When a helicopter, flying low to accompany a convoy of armored militia cars in the direction of Vucitrn-Titova Mitrovica, reached the village of Veliki Kcic, it threateningly hovered low over the courtyard of Muso Beka. The militiamen in the helicopter pointed their weapons through the open door at children and the owner of the house who were at that time in the yard and on the doorstep of the house." They claim that in this village "an 18-year old boy, Ekrem Adil Brahimi, was wounded on 25 February by a weapon belonging to the special unit of the combined militia unit."

"After 2100, militiamen attacked the student center in Pristina, and on this occasion a fire was started in hall five. Although it was the time of the curfew, the students were forced to go outside because of fear of fire and the tear gas that had been thrown into the building." They claim that on 27 February in Zskok near Urosevac "during the curfew, the mosque in this village was hit by gunfire from an automatic weapon."

There is not a word about demonstrations, attacks on militia, and stoning. According to the committee, everything seems to be calm except for the "combined militia unit beating up and frightening people, attacking houses, throwing tear gas, and hurting people."

The report is also accompanied by a list of 36 casualties. They mention that "a number of the dead fell during demonstrations but there were cases where citizens lost their lives when there were no protest meetings or where they died tragically."

As typical cases of those who died, they cite Rasim Molici, Fadil Tala, Isljam Morina, Abaz Ibrahimi, Osman Voksi (the father of attorney Adem Vojksi, who is defending those on trial in the District Court in Titova Mitrovica) and Enver Ramadani, for whom it is stated "that he was found hanging under the roof of his house on 28 February 1990."

At the end of the report (of 20 typed pages), it says that "the report was compiled on the basis of information that was collected by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina, written statements by citizens who had suffered terror, collective protests, and media reports."

Montenegrin Presidency's Mandate Extended

LD2103230790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Titograd, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Delegates at the Montenegrin Assembly decided at today's session to prolong the mandate of the state Presidency of this republic, which expires on the 6 May, until the next parliamentary elections.

In doing so, the delegates in fact endorsed the recommendation of the Montenegrin Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference Presidium, which demanded that a new state presidency not be elected until a law on political association and new electoral legal regulations are adopted. When endorsing these stances, both the SAWP leadership and the Assembly delegates had in mind the great gap between the existing constitutional and legal norms and real life, that is, the fact that at the current political moment it is impossible to observe the existing regulations and to ensure the necessary equality of all political subjects and the democratic nature of the entire election procedure.

The League of Communists delegation was against the decision. Its members were of the opinion that a new presidency should be elected right after its mandate expires.

Darmanovic Leaves Montenegro LC CC

LD2203000290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Titograd, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Srdjan Darmanovic, a member of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, today resigned from the League of Communists. Of course, this means that all his functions in the highest party leadership in this republic have terminated as well.

Explaining his decision to leave the League of Communists, given in the form of an open letter, he mentions, among other things that he decided to take this step because he believes that despite the documents adopted at its 10th extraordinary congress, the basic condition of interparty democracy—institutionalized and genuine protection of the right to a different and minority view—has still not been secured in the League of Communists of Montenegro. [passage omitted]

Darmanovic says that he has set out his convictions and views, including the one that the League of Communists should withdraw from the working process [control of the economy], the Army, the police, state administration, the judiciary, and information media during a session of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee, but that these "stands" "were rejected, although with some understanding for them, with the well-known reservation—this is not yet the time, the conditions are not ripe yet."

These and similar demands are rejected today at many other party meetings, but whether or not the League of Communists likes it, this process is inevitable because no democratic law-governed state will tolerate the presence of any party in the social segments where there is no room for political parties, says Darmanovic in his "open letter" addressed to the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee.

Montenegrin Assembly Assesses Directives

LD2203162290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Titograd, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly today decided to set in motion the procedure for assessing constitutionality and legality of the SFRY Presidency's directives regarding the prevention of the creation and the elimination of emergency situations.

On the basis of the Constitution and federal laws, the SFRY Presidency has the authority to declare the existence of immediate war danger and other emergency situations, and in regard to this, to order implementation of necessary measures of readiness and other appropriate measures necessary for the defense of the country and the constitutionally determined social order, that is, to impose the state of emergency. Delegates of the Montenegrin Assembly, however, hold that the directives of the collective head of the state cannot contain regulations about the transfer of its authority to republican and provincial presidencies.

The Montenegrin Assembly also holds that constitutionality and legality of the SFRY Presidency's directives should be appraised from the standpoint of Article 208 of the Federal Constitution, which stipulates that laws, other regulations, and documents of bodies of sociopolitical communities are to be published before they come into effect. The very act of publication makes accessible rules regulating certain relations, the mode and conditions for gaining or losing certain rights, sanctions for failing to carry out certain actions, and powers of bodies of authority and self-management to all subjects. Failure to carry out this obligation is tantamount to the breach of the principle of legal security, and from this standpoint, according to the republican assembly, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia should assess constitutionality and legality of the mentioned directives.

Croatian Assembly on 'Safeguarding' Democracy

LD2203160890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The experience gained so far from pre-election gatherings in Croatia points to the need for investing additional efforts in safeguarding the democratic work of parties, free and democratic elections, and free expression of people's will within constitutional and legal constraints.

In conjunction with this assessment, the chambers of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly today envisioned that comprehensive information about happenings on the political scene in the republic, including the general assembly of the Croat Democratic Union, the Petrova Gora meeting, and the incident in Benkovac, will be prepared for the next assembly session to be held in April. On the basis of the information, a broad parliamentary discussion will be conducted.

Croat League of Women Founded in Zagreb

LD2203200290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1747 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat League of Women [Savez Zena Hrvatske] was founded today in Zagreb. The founding assembly stressed that this is an organization that individuals—both women and men irrespective of their nationality and political and religious views—can join freely and on their own free will, under the condition that they endorse the program goals and the statute of the league. Local organizations and aktivs, women's clubs, professional societies, and other associations can join the League. [passage omitted: the league will promote women's rights and opposes violence in any form and everywhere]

Cicak Expelled From Croat Peasant Party

LD2203060390 Belgrlade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat Peasant Party announced today that Ivan Zvonimir Cicak is no longer a member of the party. This decision was reached by the entire leadership and representatives of the supervisory and disciplinary committees, following Cicak's continued public statements after his suspension from the party, his unilaterally organized visit to Australia, and damaging speeches to emigres there, and other violations of party discipline.

Zagreb, Ljubljana TV Programs on Elections

AU0703125390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 90 p 5

[E. Ciric report: "Every Party Will Have A Program"]

[Excerpt] Zadar—Next month, the television will be for the first time joining in the preelection campaign in Slovenia and Croatia where elections are approaching. All details on how this most influential media will be following preelection activities have been decided. Briefing the members of the Program Board of the Yugoslav Radio Television on these details at a two-day meeting (chaired by Besim Ceric) in Zadar, Zagreb Television Director Goran Radman said that this television studio has reserved times during which political parties will appear between 12 March and 12 April so that the public can acquaint itself with their programs. "We have established the rules of behavior in order to prevent the abuse of television. Every party is guaranteed a one-hour program. The representatives of the parties will be given one-half hour to explain their election program. During the other half-hour, our journalists will ask them questions (the questions will be the same for all parties). The guests are obliged to answer them. The programs will be live, but they will not be 'audience participation' programs"—Radman explained—"because of the possible abuse of television. It would not be possible to answer all viewers' questions, or quickly select the best questions. The viewers will be left to make their own judgments."

Since there are many parties in Croatia (the most recent being the Party of Yugoslavs), there will be many hours of these programs. We plan to broadcast these programs on the Second Channel three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, between 2215-2315 [2115-2215 GMT]. For this reason, Zagreb Television will have to postpone the joint programs of the Yugoslav Radio Television that will be shown by other television studios.

According to Radman, some parties proposed to buy their own commercial time, but Zagreb Television decided not to accept these proposals because some parties do not have funds for such moves and would therefore be put in an unequal position. The representatives of other television centers agreed not to grant any time to any party from Croatia for commercial programs during the elections.

The preelection activities in Slovenia will be followed for five weeks. For this we have ensured 615 minutes on the First Channel. This was stated by Beno Hvala, assistant director in charge of programs on Ljubljana Television. All parties will be provided equal opportunities to present themselves. The view of our television is that we should not exaggerate the preelection campaign and subordinate everything to it because, as Hvala said, Yugoslavia and Slovenia have to carry on even without the elections. [passage omitted]

People's Meeting in Petrova Gora Noted

LD0403184590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Petrova Gora, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—A people's meeting was held today at the summit of Mt. Petrova Gora by the Monument to the Revolution. [passage omitted: meeting opened by Dmitar Obradovic, addressed by Dusan Pekic]

Dusan Pekic [member of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia Presidium] said that we have not yet forgotten fratricidal battles, genocide, execution places, and mass graves, but that once again dark clouds were beginning to circulate in the form of chauvinist, nationalist, and profascist parties. They advocate hatred, a retailoring of borders, and bloodshed in a form of a tragic civil war, all with the aim of breaking up the SFRY.

The main protagonists of this horrible and tragic policy are the remains of Ustasha, Chetnik, White Guard, Ballist, as well as the new nationalist, separatist, profascist forces that have embarked upon a major hysterical, anti-Communist, antisocialist, and anti-Yugolav campaign.

They camouflage all their dark goals with national flags and promise national happiness in new greater-national states, which they would expand to reach the last of the settlements of their nation. What would happen, Dusan Pekic asked, with the nations on that territory who do not belong to "their" nation? It is not difficult to suppose what kind of fate they have in store for them. However, we must say that all this is like making plans without consulting those concerned.

They forget that the foundations of the new Yugoslavia, the SFRY, the community of equal nations and nationalities, are far stronger than appears at first sight, so how do they imagine—on the basis of a rift in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia leadership and the labor pains that will follow the introduction of a multiparty system, general democratization, and the reform-oriented transformation of society. [sentence as received]

Their expectations are naive, warns Dusan Pekic, when they think that our nations and nationalities in their republics and provinces would risk and destroy everything they have achieved so far in the interest of some problematic leaders, dukes, or superiors, or in the interest of certain forces that create and support these.

They now are spreading rumors that everything is wrong and that everything we did from 1941 until today was a failure. They object to our struggle against fascism, their ally. We ask ourselves what would have happened if they had won—the Ustashas and Chetniks—would Yugoslavia had existed at all? If they had won, they would have had a Lebanon on the entire territory of Yugoslavia, just like they want to create it in Kosovo now, Pekic said.

He thinks it is out of place even to argue with nationalist and separatist parties that advocate hatred and war because the law on a multiparty system would ban such parties.

Today we should talk about how to strengthen and further develop unity, mutual trust, and respect among our nations and nationalities, how to consolidate equality, human rights, and freedoms. We should talk about how to be more successful in implementing reforms and how to get closer to the developed part of Europe, but should also say that if we remain isolated in our national homes we will never reach Europe. It can be done only together, involving the whole of the SFRY. [passage omitted: Pekic calls on everyone to embark on implementing reforms and to give their support to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council]

We are particularly worried, stresses Pekic, by attempts to break the LCY, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and the SFRY, not so much by those previously well-known nationalists and separatist forces, but by some parts of and groups in the LCY, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY], and the Socialist Youth Federation that play up to some new parties, form coalitions with them in order to preserve their privileges and positions. These dissidents were fattened by socialist managers, took advantage of everything they could as high-ranking officials in the LCY, built villas and castles for themselves, caused great damage to the LCY and the people, and now are running away to join other parties in order to escape responsibility.

They are running away from the LCY now, says Pekic, when it has embarked on the biggest democratization in its history, running away because they are all guilty and if they manage to break up the LCY they will be rewarded by other parties.

"Ljubljana, 16 Mar—The election campaign has started in earnest. DELO Contact Service in its latest telephone poll (carried out on 14 and 15 March among 303 citizens of Slovenia) tried to find out whether the voters find it any easier after the media presentation of the parties and candidates—especially on television—and whether they know to whom to give their vote. The poll shows they do not. As many as 39.9 percent of the respondents were undecided as regards the candidate for the president of the Presidency. The lineup has also changed. It seems that people resented that Marko Demsar did not attend the television presentation, although this is not evident from the proportion of changed opinions. The public appearance thus brought the least profit to Ivan Kramberger and the most to Milan Kucan. As regards the candidates for the members of the republic Presidency, the poll (in which each could chose four out of 12) shows that Ciril Zlobec, Matjaz Kmecl, Ivam Oman, and Dimitrij Rupel were most persuasive."

The results of the poll are summarized in four charts and one table, as described below. In the table, ZSMS stands for the initials of the former Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, and LCS for the initials of the former League of Communists of Slovenia.

Pie Chart: "Which of the candidates for the president of the Presidency will you vote for?"

M. Kucan	37 percent
J. Pucnik	11.9
I. Kramberger	5.6
M. Demsar	4
Don't know	39.9
Will not vote	1.6

Bar Chart: "The voters would distribute their votes among the candidates for the members of the Presidency as follows:"

M. Kmecl	16.8 percent
F. Miklavcic	3.4
I. Oman	13
D. Plut	7.3
D. Rupel	8.3
B.M. Zupancic	5.5
C. Zlobec	17
P. Novak	5.7
M. Gec-Korosec	3.6
A. Krizman	5.9
B. Oblak	5.3
S. Zizek	8.1

Table: "What are the chances of the parties?"

	Number	Percent	Percent
ZSMS-Liberal Party	55	20.6	18.2
LCS-Party of Democratic Reform	51	19.1	16.8
Demos	43	16.1	14.2
Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia	26	9.7	8.6
The Greens of Slovenia	23	8.6	7.6
Slovene Peasant Alliance	20	7.5	6.6
Slovene Democratic Alliance	17	6.4	5.6
Slovene Christian Democrats	11	4.1	3.6
Socialist Alliance of Slovenia	10	3.7	3.3
Gray Panthers	6	2.2	2.0
Independent List	2	0.7	0.7
Slovene Craftsmen Party	1	0.4	0.3
Italian Community—Comunita Italiana	1	0.4	0.3
List of New Social Movements	1	0.4	0.3
Slovene Craftmen-Entrepreneurs Party	0	0.0	0.0
Alliance of Pensioners Societies, Maribor	0	0.0	0.0
Democratic Alliance of Kosovo	0	0.0	0.0
Alliance for the Preservation of Equality of Citizens	0	0.0	0.0
Citizens Green List	0	0.0	0.0
Totals	267	100.0	303

The figures are as published. The significance of the last column is not explained.

Bar Chart: "In your opinion, which parties deserve seats in the communal assembly?"

Demos	32.1 percent
Present authorities	14.4
ZSMS-Liberal Party	12
Independents	2.3
Others	6
Do not know, not interested	33.1

Bar Chart: "How in your opinion have the presidential candidates presented themselves so far?"

The chart contains no exact figures and the percentages indicated by the lengths of the respective bars can only be approximately ascertained by using the scale at the margin:

	Well	Unsatisfactorily	Poorly	Don't know
M. Demsar	50	25	8	20
I. Kramberger	57	18	16	12

	Well	Unsatisfatorily	Poorly	Don't know
M. Kucan	68	18	2	13
J. Pucnik	60	20	4	15

Hafner on New Communist Party in Slovenia

AU0703094490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 90 p 3

[D.D. report: "Hafner Is Not Founding a Party"]

[Text] Ljubljana—During his talks with Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia, in Belgrade, Dragisa Marojevic stressed, on behalf of the Ljubljana Alliance for Protecting Citizens' Equality, that, contrary to the leadership, many members want to remain in the LC of Yugoslavia. Judging by the reaction "in the field," these people could be rallied around Vinko Hafner. However, considering that national passions in Slovenia are strong, Marojevic expressed doubt that Hafner would accept this duty.

Following the attack by Boris Jez, one of DELO's leading commentators—that in this way Petar Simic and Milan Pancevski, "with the help of foreigners and the fifth-columnist Marojevic, are trying to found a new LC of Slovenia," which would also include Hafner, Popit, and Albreht—Vinko Hafner himself reacted, stressing that he did not want to go into whether the unauthorized use of notes taken during the discussion with Pancevski was appropriate because all this was part of political marketing. Hafner reproached Boris Jez for cynical and insulting writing.

Hafner stated further that if Marojevic or some other people approached him regarding the founding of a new LC of Slovenia, he would categorically reject such an idea. Hafner said that he still has confidence in the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform, although as a Slovene Communist, like many other non-Slovene Communists, he is concerned about certain trends that render passive the worker and communist elements in sections of the membership.

However, if the LC moved away from its workers' grass roots and transformed itself into some kind of a communist elite, it would formally renounce communist ideas and convert itself into a socialist or social democratic party. In the case this happened, the workers, part of the intelligentsia, and other social strata would sooner or later found a new communist party.

This means, Hafner said, that initiatives to found a special LC of Slovenia, similar to that of Marojevic, would emerge again. How many people would respond to these initiatives will depend on the attitudes of the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform toward the LC of Yugoslavia as a whole.

Federal Government Freezes Slovenia's Accounts

AU2203114990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Federal Executive Council Freezes Slovenia's Accounts"]

[Text] The Federal Executive Council has ordered the Federal Secretariat for Finance to freeze Slovenia's accounts because it has refused to pay its share of money into the fund for the underdeveloped. Prompted by delegates' questions, this was stated on 12 March by Federal Executive Council member Veselin Vukotic, who was participating in the work of the Committee for the Underdeveloped of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. This led to Franc Krizmacic asking in return what measures the government would undertaking against the unconstitutional economic blockade of Slovenia by Serbia?

"We will take the measures of a legal state that range from replacing the federal inspector who has not implemented the conclusion of the Federal Executive Council to the inspectorate checking each case in order to establish whether it helps the economic blockade," Vukotic replied.

2 Parties Unite in Serbian Renewal Movement

AU2203103890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 90 p 8

[A.V. report: "Coalition in the Open"]

[Text] Two parties, the Serbian National Renewal and the Serbian Freedom Loving Movement, on 14 March founded a new, united party, the Serbian Renewal Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove] (SPO) with the center in Belgrade. Writer Vuk Draskovic was elected SPO president, and the declaration on unification was signed by Vuk Draskovic and Dr. Vojislav Seselj, presidents of the former Serbian National Renewal Central Committee and the Fatherland Central Board of the Serbian Freedom Loving Movement, respectively.

This was announced at the 14 March news conference in the Republican Square near the Prince Mihajlo monument instead of in the Hotel Majestic in Belgrade, whose director refused to have the meeting held there. Present were about 100 people, most of them passers-by who had come there by chance.

The members of the former parties of the Serbian National Renewal and the Serbian Freedom Loving Movement have become members of the united Serbian Renewal Movement. The Serbian Youth Renewal Movement had also joined the new party, Draskovic said on 14 March and pointed out that the SPO is ready for new unifications or closest cooperation with all political parties in Serbia and Yugoslavia that want to strive toward "ending the occupation of Kosovo and Metohija, which has lasted one-half of a century," protecting the

Serbian people from persecution and pogrom throughout the country, and removing Titoists and Communists from power.

Draskovic also told journalists that the SPO had in principle already reached agreement on forming a coalition with the Democratic Freedom Party [Demokratska Stranka Slobode] and the Liberal Party of Valjevo.

When asked by journalists on whose behalf he had, in fact, signed the declaration on unification of the Serbian National Renewal with the Serbian Freedom Loving Movement, when Mirko Jovic is, in fact, the Serbian National Renewal president and Vuk Draskovic had been thrown out from the party, Draskovic replied that he had become president of the Serbian National Renewal and signed the declaration on unification through the will of the members of the Serbian National Renewal and of most members of the party's Central Committee.

TANJUG Reacts to Serbian Charges

LD1003232490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with a statement by the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium in which TANJUG is accused of "going too far" in allegedly "focusing" on the question of the possible change of the name of the Serbian League of Communists, and in this way "suggesting a division within the Serbian League of Communists," TANJUG's editorial board declared that, with the best intention, it does not understand at all what the allegations against it are about.

Not only does the TANJUG report published on the front page of POLITIKA on 10 March not highlight nor give prominence to the question of the possible change in the name of the Serbian League of Communists, but it does not refer at all to any division within the Serbian League of Communists.

The agency's board most energetically rejected the allegations that link TANJUG with "the enemies of Serbia who have as their target the unity of the leadership and the Serbian League of Communists." This absolutely does not correspond to the truth, so as a result we do not feel the need to defend ourselves from such allegations.

Serbian National Renewal Chief Denies Ban

LD0703000590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—In a letter to TANJUG, Mirko Jovic, Serbian National Renewal Party chairman, denied that his party was banned. He explained that the Sava cultural society from Nova Pazova, which served as a springboard for the aforementioned party, was banned. He also added that the Serbian National Renewal Party is not, however, registered yet.

Suvar Says Economic Reforms Will Take Time

LD1603110490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia must not be allowed to disintegrate. In the unfortunate event that this does not happen, Yugoslavia will be recreated as a community of equal nations. The 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress was, perhaps, held two months too early. Today, documents and voting would be different and conducive to a genuine and deep reform in the LCY.

This was stated by Dr. Stipe Suvar, SFRY Presidency member, in an interview to be published by NEDJELJA of Sarajevo on 16 Match. The interview will be continued in the weekly's next issue.

In an interview, entitled "The Revolution Was Not a Crime," Stipe Suvar says that Yugoslavia has been in the grip of economic stagnation for the last 10 years or so and that it will take as long for an economic reform designed to force our economy to operate and behave in line with world market criteria to yield any noticeable fruit.

Asked about the "war games" in the country, Stipe Suvar said "these games are encouraged, and orchestrated by, in particular, the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution. This, in turn, has provided stimulus for all our nationalisms whose proponents are, at the moment, being deafeningly vociferous and are threatening the country's integrity. However, once reform processes are under way and the way out is in sight, the war games will subside."

Damage caused by these war games is enormous. They have created an atmosphere of fear, a climate of confusion and quarreling, a retrograde conscience that wishes to take us back into the past and a large-scale transformation of recent Communists and fighters for socialism into tribal headmen, eager nationalists, and even fascist-inspired hit men. Enormous energies are being wasted in making noise and in promoting disintegrational goals while reform-oriented efforts are being repeatedly thwarted and delayed, Suvar said.

Asked if Yugoslavia could disintegrate, Suvar said: "On the threshold of the 21st century, Yugoslavia for our peoples has no longer the same meaning as, for instance, at the beginning of the 20th century when they strove for its creation. Our peoples have changed, and the threat from others in a changed Europe and a changed world is no longer as great as before. But they still need Yugoslavia to protect them from ethnic divisions, possible fratricide and genocide and from foreign claims, still possible, on territories belonging to some of our nations. In other words, Yugoslavia cannot be allowed to disintegrate. In the unfortunate event that this does happen, it will be re-created as a community of equal nations."

While the SFRY Constitution is in force, Suvar says, the word "socialist" will remain part of Yugoslavia's name.

In its proposal for a new constitution, the SFRY Presidency opted for "federation," "socialism", and "self-management." As far as I can see, views that neither socialism nor self-management should be mentioned in connection with the country's name and its social system, in other words, that there is no room for them in the new constitution, are gaining ground in both the League of Communists and present socio-political organizations. The great majority of new political parties proceed from the view that socialism in our country has collapsed, that it was never possible, that it is merely an arbitrary idea and ideological construction, and that self-management was and still is an instrument of bureaucratic manipulation with workers and citizens, etc. Pressures of this kind will continue on those responsible for drawing up and implementing the new constitution.

However, both socialism and self-management will continue to be a legacy and a prospect in both the world and our country. What we are experiencing now is a "temporary" onslaught on them that may last. However, they cannot be written off since they are, in any case, tendencies imminent in our epoch. It could also happen that the country's old name of "Democratic Federal Yugoslavia"—as given to it by AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]—will be reinstated. Whatever happens, historical memory and the genuine aspirations of the majority of our people will continue to favour socialist and self management-based solutions, Suvar says.

[Beginning of TANJUG take 3 not received] The LCY allowed itself to disintegrate under the attacks of national-bureaucratic monopolies and monolithic views; it destroyed itself by being in their service, and that is where it is, but I am hoping that it will come to its senses and recover. If it fails in this, one or more left-wing parties will be born from its ruins and they will have a chance—as all-Yugoslav parties, with a program of socialism and democraticy for citizens, self-management and a federative system, but also with a program recognizing the integrity and equality of all our nations and nationalities—to conquer and keep power, says Suvar.

The development will take its course in the direction of the creation of several transrepublican and transnational political parties whose role will be spread through Yugoslavia—every nation and every nationality will have one or more nationalist parties that will come into conflicts and blame one another, work against Yugoslavia in the name of sacred national interests, and that will in reality oppose every left-wing party and everything left. [passage omitted: Suvar on recent attacks on Tito; speaks in his defense]

Valjevo Communists See No Reason for Tito School

AU0503091890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Mar

[Text] The Communal Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Valjevo has decided that there is no longer any rational reason for the existence of the Josip Broz Tito political school in Kumrovec, which is only a matter of the personal interest of the employees there who outnumber the students. The Communal Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Valjevo is asking the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia to immediately withdraw its students from the Josip Broz Tito political school in Kumrovec.

LCY CC Presidium Considers Congress Proposals

LD2203051490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Today at the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium session, presided over by Presidium President Milan Pancevski, the Presidium carried out further preparations for the 31st session of the LCY Central Committee. Within this framework, the Presidium considered stances, comments, and proposals of the central and provincial committees and the LCY committee of the Yugoslav People's Army on the Presidium's material on the break-off and the resumption of the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. The improved material will be considered at the next Central Committee session, the statement from today's session of the Presidium stresses.

The Presidium session considered issues relating to the KOMUNIST newspaper and newspaper and publishing work enterprises. It concluded that it should be proposed to the LCY Central Committee that it start publishing an LCY bulletin and develop a new profile for the magazine and other publications. The Presidium appointed Milivoje Tomasevic, hitherto editor of the KOMUNIST newspaper, acting director and chief and responsible editor of the newspaper.

Basic Organizations Dissolved in Hercegovina

AU0903155490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The scrapping of the work principle of organization is under way in the League of Communists in Hercegovina, which means that basic organizations in enterprises, institutions, and administrative and judicial organs are being dissolved. Along with the Communal Committee of the League of Communists in Citluk, which has decided to dissolve all 30 basic organizations in collectives, the Communal Committee in Posusje has decided to do the same thing. All 29 basic organizations of the League of Communists in enterprises and state organs have been dissolved, and the structure of the League of Communists has been changed on the basis of interests and territory.

Presidency: Slovene Law Violates Constitution

LD0603141890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1034 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Maintaining that the law of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on internal affairs contravenes provisions of the Yugoslav Constitution and the federal law on total national defence, the Yugoslav Presidency has asked the Federal Constitutional Court to assess the constitutionality of that law.

The Presidency's demand was motivated by the banning of a rally of Serbs and Montenegrins, which was scheduled to take place in the Slovenian capital Ljubljana on December 1 last year, an act which provoked tension in the relations between two republics—Slovenia and Serbia—and led Serbia into breaking off economic relations with Slovenia.

The controversial law empowers Slovenia's secretary of internal affairs to restrict or ban the movement of people in certain areas and public gatherings, and to ban settlement in certain regions or towns, all on the basis of an assessment by the Republican Presidency and a decision by its government.

After it was assessed that peace and security would be endangered, the controversial regulation was invoked to ban the planned rally in Ljubljana and introduce emergency measures in Slovenia, so as to prevent the arrival of citizens of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia bent on attending the so-called "rally of truth."

The Yugoslav Presidency holds that the Slovenian law contravenes the Yugoslav Constitution, which guarantees the freedom of public speech, assembly and other public gathering. It is also in opposition to regulations of the Yugoslav law on total national defence, as the restrictions it foresees can only be imposed under emergency circumstances, which is exclusively in the competence of the Yugoslav Presidency.

Alternative Groups on Party Pluralism Laws

LD0603162190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Representatives of alternative parties and movements in Yugoslavia are satisfied with a "breakthrough" made in the country's monistic political structure by the federal and republican legislation legalizing party pluralism.

This conclusion follows from an opinion poll conducted by TANJUG among some thirty parties and movements recently formed in Yugoslavia.

The satisfaction, however, differs in degree in different parts of the country, proportionately to the new parties' and movements' influence on the shaping of new legal solutions.

In most cases, the federal draft law on political association was appraised more favourably than the corresponding republican drafts or laws.

In the most developed Republic of Slovenia, which has gone furthest in institutionalising pluralism, leaders of alternative parties actively participated in adopting the law, passed last autumn, and are fully satisfied with its content.

In the largest Republic of Serbia, president of the Belgrade branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, Dr Nebojsa Popov has noted the inconsistencies in draft laws in relation to the conditions for allowing or banning the activities of political parties, which, in his view, can only be within court jurisdiction.

The interim main committee of the People's Radical party, consisting of a number of prominent Belgrade lawyers, has taken a similar stand criticizing the law for providing that a decision prohibiting a party's activity be made by the Serbian Supreme Court, which rules out the possibility of petition.

President of the Initiative Committee of the Kosovo Social Democratic Party Muhamedin Kulasi holds that the republican law's provision authorizing the Internal Affairs' Secretariat to decide whether or not a party should be registered, means imposing control on political association.

In Yugoslavia's second largest republic of Croatia, representatives of seven new parties and movements have participated in adopting the amendments to the law on multi-party system. Some of them, however, now complain that their participation was only formal. Others, who were not invited to participate, sharply protest against the republican authorities' attitude towards them.

Alternative groups in Croatia, however, are especially concerned about the fact that the election law promotes the majority, rather than the proportional system, which, they believe, suits only the two largest parties.

Besides a generally favourable attitude towards the legislation on political association, alternative groups in Yugoslavia's smallest Republic of Montenegro are primarily critical of the law's failure to unambiguously define the conditions under which a party's activity can be banned.

Socialist Alliance May Play 'Major Role'

LD1603000990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the country's largest sociopolitical organization, is to become a political party in its own right, presidents and secretaries of the alliance's republican and provincial leaderships decided here on Thursday.

A programme of the future party will be presented to the Federal Presidency of the Alliance next Tuesday [20 March].

Under the Yugoslav system, the Socialist Alliance was conceived as a mass front organization including all adult Yugoslavs. It was to be a substitute for multiparty organization which was banned.

The Socialist Alliance organization of the two most developed yugoslav republics—Slovenia and Croatia—have already been transformed into independent parties, and preparations for those in the other republics and provinces to do likewise are in progress.

If the existing Socialist Alliance organizations in the eight Yugoslav republics and provinces agree on a single Yugoslav plaltform—something that neither the Communists, nor the other newly-formed parties managed to do yet—the future all-Yugoslav party could play a major role at the forthcoming elections.

Raskovic on 'Democratic Federalism,' Equality

AU2103221190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Mar 90 p 14

[V. Djordjevic report: "The Victim Is Defended With Democracy"]

[Text] Zagreb—Our party is not ethnic. It is ethical. Its demands are tolerance and all forms of political freedom. This particularly applies to the diaspora of the Serbian people throughout Yugoslavia. The Serbian diaspora in Croatia is a historical victim that is older than the pressures from Starcevic supporters and Frank genocide [referring to prewar political parties in Croatia].

Any victim is best defended with democracy and freedom. Therefore, the Serbian people in Croatia has a special need to rally around democratic principles of equality and freedom, stressed Dr. Jovan Raskovic, while presenting the Serbian Democratic Party—which was founded a month ago in Knin—late last night [9 March] in the Zagreb Center for Culture and Information.

Raskovic stressed that the League of Communists continues to be slave to its idolatry of elevating individuals to the level of an inviolable state principle. It cannot abandon some other dogmas either, no matter how hard it has tried. One of these dogmas is connected with our foreign policy. A sacred orientation toward the policy of nonalignment has been created that even establishes relations between allies and is turning into unethical support for totalitarian regimes and regimes inundated with fanaticism and authoritarian leaders. This dogma must go through deep changes, and all our orientations should be directed toward states with tested democratic regimes and parliamentarian freedoms. All these weaknesses lie in the institutions of a single-party monopoly. The only real, possible way to break a monopoly is by surpassing the single-party political structure.

Speaking about the state structure and the national question, Dr. Raskovic stressed that the national question is primarily a democratic issue for the Democratic Party. He said that the establishment of a multiparty system by ensuring constitutional and other guarantees and human security and freedoms will certainly contribute to reducing the present conflicts. Consistent respect for basic human and civil rights, a breaking with the single-party monopoly, and the establishment of a democratic order would reduce the possibility of the direct abuse of the unresolved national question.

I think that the fate of the Serbian people in Croatia, Raskovic continued, depends on democratic federalism, therefore we are committed to a federal structure for Yugoslavia under the condition that it is accepted by all the people who make up Yugoslavia. A new historical agreement on the internal structure of Yugoslavia can only be reached by the legitimately elected representational bodies of every Yugoslav people by itself. The federal structure of Yugoslavia can be brought into line with the basic principles of democracy if the equality of citizens as individuals is guaranteed along with the equality of federal units.

We are not in favor of the civil equality that was proclaimed in a single-party system whereby one Slovene citizen was the equivalent of and was worth five Serbs in the political sphere. We advocate the principle of "one citizen- one vote." Our democratic federal practice must be enriched with quite new attitudes toward the provinces. The attitude toward the provinces should be reexamined and assessed in a more modern way. As is known, the powerful bosses of a single-party system uncritically transferred onto postwar Yugoslavia the concept of the provinces from the Soviet Constitution. Later on, the provinces were again turned into states by the powerful bosses of a single party. The provinces established in this way with ugly superstructures are becoming a destructive factor for the states that have provinces. This is being demonstrated to us by the examples of Kosovo and Nagorno-Karabakh. Even blood is being shed because of them. It is necessary to provide constitutional possibilities for territorial autonomies to be created in the framework of individual federal units, if the population decides on this in a referendum, Raskovic concluded.

Vojvodina Assembly Votes for New Constitution

LD2103190590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—At their joint session today, the delegates of all three Chambers of Vojvodina Assembly unanimously approved the SFRY Presidency proposal that the changes to the federal Constitution be tackled with the adoption of a new constitution.

In so doing, said President Verona Adam-Bokros, the Vojvodina Assembly has taken yet another step toward creating the conditions to overcome our social crisis and to implement the economic and political reform for which the citizens of this province had opted almost unanimously.

National Defense Secretariat Names Spokesman

LD2103185390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 March (TANJUG)—The SSNO (Federal Secretariat of National Defense) has acquired its own press spokesman. The appropriate SSNO organ today announced that this job will be done by Colonel Dr. Vuk Obradovic, head of the Information and Propaganda Service in the SSNO Political Administration Department.

The appointment of an SSNO press spokesman is an expression of the SSNO effort to provide fuller and timely information on the current issues of the building of our Armed Forces and of life and work of JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) members.

It was stated in the SSNO that the press spokesman will hold news conferences every Wednesday in the JNA Club in Belgrade starting at 1000. The journalists from all Yugoslav media accredited for covering our Armed Forces and all-people's defense may attend the conference.

Dissident Djilas Comments on Developments

LD2103174190 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade March 21 (CTK correspondent)—The main problems of today's Yugoslavia are political—they concern above all nationality relations, former close colleague of Josip Broz Tito and later a hard critic of the country's communist regime Milovan Djilas has stressed in his exclusive interview to CTK.

It is most probably the first interview of the prominent writer and politician to a Czechoslovak journalist and one of Djilas's rare interviews for Eastern European mass media. The western press has described him once as the last and greatest Eastern European dissident after the rehabilitation of Andrey Sakharov.

Relations between the Serbs and Croatians are of decisive significance for the future of Yugoslavia. The state, with all its problems, can function also without the existence of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, he underlined.

The democratic revolution taking place in the whole of Eastern Europe will change not only this region but will enormously influence the west too, Milovan Djilas said, adding that in his opinion the Soviet Union should reorganize its structure like the commonwealth.

He said he does not believe in any special role of intellectuals and writers in society. But in case of president Vaclav Havel the situation is different because he is an extraordinary personality, he pointed out.

Belgrade SAWP President Resigns

LD0503220990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] city conference today accepted the resignation of Zoran Todorovic, heretofore president of this body. The current secretary of this body, Savo Skundric, will be the acting president of the Belgrade SAWP city conference until a new president is elected.

Independent Democratic Party Explains Program

LD0903234090

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Croatian at 1605 GMT on 9 March broadcasts a 90-minute party political program by the Independent Yugoslav Democratic Party. The program begins with the announcer welcoming party Vice President Mirko Zoric, party Central Committee President Nikola Koba, and Central Council Vice President Dusan Vuckovic. Mirko Zoric says that in creating their party they were inspired by all those historic statesmen who strived to unite the South Slav peoples. The party was founded on 11 February 1990 in Vojnic. Its main ambitions, he says, are to bring closer all the Yugoslav peoples and to promote religious, national, and cultural tolerance, as it does not want to be associated to any nation in particular. Zoric recalls the history of the Independent Democratic Party that was active between the world wars, which he sees as his party's predecessor.

Nikola Koba then explains the party program. He says they will advocate the territorial and economic integrity of Yugoslavia, a humanitarian and democratic socialism, equality, human rights, and cooperation with all similar parties. While supporting the market economy, he says, one of their prime economic concerns will be the development of rural areas and agriculture.

Koba goes on to say the party believes that all the Yugoslav peoples should be enabled to develop their own cultures. It will also insist on ecological issues. Yugoslavia's federal arrangement is seen as the only viable solution, as opposed to the confederal concepts advocated by some other parties, since only Yugoslavia as a whole is recognized in the international context.

The announcer then notes that this is a small party with a fairly limited membership. Vuckovic fails to state the number of its members and dwells on its financial difficulties, which will eventually be offset by the party's inherent values. He says he believes these are appealing on a wider Yugoslav scale.

The party will be part of a coalition, Vuckovic continues, encompassing all those Yugoslav-oriented parties such as the Alliance of Socialists and the League of Communists, that accept the principles of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ].

Vuckovic concludes by reiterating that the Petrova Gora rally was not a single-nation rally. He also says that his party strongly opposes those parties that favor national divisions.

'Independent Students Alliance' Founded

LD0903211990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Titograd, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The Independent Alliance of Montenegrin University Students, an independent and voluntary association, has been founded in Titograd. The main aim of this organization, as stressed at the inaugural assembly, is the protection of students rights and interests, as well as work on the revival of the former Yugoslav Students Alliance.

The Independent Students Alliance, its statute says, is an apolitical organization that is not in coalition with any party, nor is it in opposition, but it will be in opposition if students rights are denied. Both full-time and part-time students can become members of the Independent Students Alliance.

Social Reform Party To Protest Border Law

LD0803153790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—ZKS, the Social Reform Party, will organize a protest action against the Yugoslav Government's intention to introduce a law extending the border zone from the present 100 to 1,000 meters.

The action will take place on 9 March in the afternoon in the form of a sit-in at all border crossings from Slovenia into Italy, Austria and Hungary. The protest action is expected to be joined by members of other political organizations and movements and by people on the other side of the border.

Number of Applicants to Military Schools Grows

AU2003154290 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 7

[M. Petrovic report: "A Greater Response"]

[Text] Even though this year's results of applications made by young people to military schools are not yet complete, it is quite certain that the recently published reports in some newspapers about the supposedly great drop in interest are not true. According to figures gathered by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense from republican and provincial secretariats, applications by young people to military schools in our country for this year have not only not decreased but have even increased by 20 percent.

A particularly interesting fact is that a great number of young men from Kosovo have this year applied to study at secondary military schools and academies. Six hundred and nineteen of them applied, which is 80.5 percent more than last year. It is difficult to say whether this is the result of more up-to-date advertising or because of other deeper reasons, but the fact is that the military profession has this year become more attractive in other parts of the country, too. By looking over the number of applications for military schools and academies in 1990, it can be seen that there was an increase in Bosnia-Hercegovina of 26.8 percent, in Vojvodina of 22.3 percent, in Macedonia of 39.9 percent, in Serbia (without the provinces) of 10.1 percent, in Croatia of 3.45 percent, and in Montenegro of 37.9 percent. Only figures from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are lacking because the deadline for applications was extended in this republic until 30 March.

Something else is certain. Every year, either intentionally or for some other reasons, certain communal secretariats and secretariats of the republics and provinces send about 10 percent fewer documents for applicants than the number of those who have applied. So, for example, without any explanation whatsoever, documents for 1,025 applicants did not arrive at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense last year. It is difficult to believe that so many candidates had suddenly withdrawn in the meantime.

It is also interesting that from year to year, more and more of those who declare themselves as Yugoslavs have been applying to military schools in all regions of Yugoslavia. In Croatia, for example, almost as many Yugoslavs as Serbs applied this year. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, every fourth candidate describes themselves as Yugoslav, and in Montenegro this is one in seven candidates. In Kosovo, after candidates of Albanian, Muslim, Serbian, and Montenegrin nationality, most of the candidates are Yugoslavs. This indicates something, too.

POLITIKA To Launch English Edition

LD2103072690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1141 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—The prominent Belgrade daily POLITIKA will launch on Friday [23 March] its once-weekly English edition for readers at home and abroad.

"POLITIKA THE INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY" will offer the readers an insight into economic, political, cultural, sport and other developments both in Yugoslavia and throughout the world, Yugoslavia's oldest daily said on Monday. It will include the news as well as reports, articles and commentaries written by well-known Yugoslav and foreign journalists and other prominent authors.

POLITIKA appeared on January 25, 1904. The daily was founded by Vladilsav Ribnikar, whose descendants later continued to run it.

POLITIKA was not published during World War One and World War Two. In the postwar period it developed into a modern newspaper with two dailies and six weeklies. Its circulation now is about 220,000 copies.

Democratic Party Publishes New Newspaper

LD0903231190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Our goal is not fighting communists, but equal participation in decision-making and ruling, representatives of the Democratic Party, one of the 140 parties formed in Yugoslavia recently, said here today at the promotion of [word indistinct] issue of the paper "DEMOKRATIJA".

The representatives of the Democratic Party, which as 4,000 members, said that the fact that communists are in parliament was not the main problem—the problem is that they are the only party in parliament.

Yugoslavia has accepted the principle of a multi-party struggle for power, and the first free elections are scheduled for next month in three of Yugoslavia's six republics.

DEMOKRATIJA re-appears after 45 years, it was said today. The paper ceased to be published after the November 8, 1945 issue was banned.

The Democratic Party-Center Party, which urges development of multi-party system and market-oriented economy, existed in pre-war Yugoslavia and since it did not collaborate with the occupiers during World War Two, it was allowed to be active in socialist Yugoslavia until 1947 when all parties were banned.

DEMOCRATIJA's editor-in-chief Aleksandar Ilic said that newsboys sold 1,000 issues of DEMOKRATIJA in the streets of Belgrade last night and that the first issue was printed in 22,000 copies.

Novi Sad University Paper Renews Publication

LD0803160990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Summary] Novi Sad, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—After a break of 16 years, the Novi Sad University paper INDEKS is again on sale in Novi Sad and Belgrade. The paper ceased publication in 1974, when the students' union and many students' societies were disbanded. INDEKS will appear monthly and all legal parties and political associations will be given space on its pages, according to a news conference in Novi Sad today.

First Independent Paper Published in SFRY

LD0803162590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Split SLOBODNI TJEDNIK [THE INDEPENDENT WEEKLY], which is being publicized as the first independent paper in the country, was presented at the International Press Center today. The first copy went to press on 28 February at the VJESNIK newspaper publishing house in Zagreb with a circulation of 60,000 and was virtually sold out. The second edition came out yesterday in 100,000 copies. SLOBODNI TJEDNIK is a shareholding company. The editorial office has only five employees.

Paper Counters Army Statement on Officer's Death

AU0803170290 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Mar 90 p 2

[Slobodan Dukic report: "Federal Secretariat Denies DELO, Vuk Draskovic Denies the Secretariat"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar— Belgrade papers reported today—its seems with great satisfaction—that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has denied the alleged speculations of Ljubljana DELO connected with the death of Lieutenant Zikica Sretenovic of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The report that was carried in DELO on 27 February on page 2 under the title, "Serbian National Renewal: He Died for Serbia," said that a statement by the Central Committee of the underground party, the Serbian National Renewal, was circulating a rumor in Belgrade to the effect that Lt. Sretenovic, who died of wounds sustained in Kosovo, was buried in Smederevska Palanka.

What is circulating in Belgrade are not rumors but a statement by the Serbian National Renewal. Therefore, there was no need for the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to deny DELO speculations because these did not exist. The DELO report mentioned above also says that Draskovic's banned party denies Yugoslav People's Army assertions that "there has been no loss of life among the militiamen or the soldiers suppressing the armed uprising of the Albanian mujaheddin...." Therefore, Serbia should be ashamed for covering up the death of those who have died for Serbia, it is said in the statement that an activist of the Serbian National Renewal brought to our Belgrade offices.

DELO thus did not speculate, but only conveyed a statement by an organization that asserts it has 30,000 members. If the people in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense were only a little bit more conscientious, they could have read an article entitled "Death of a Tank Officer" in the magazine INTERVJU of 27 February. The authors of the article do not quote the statement by the Serbian National Renewal, but say that an official statement was issued on the death of the young lieutenant in Kosovo, which obviously was not believed by anybody.

They say among other things that they doubt the statement of the officer commanding Prizren barracks to the effect that the accident was caused by a careless tank driver. In the same article, Lt. Sretenovic's father, who also used to serve in the Yugoslav People's Army tank units, resolutely asserted that a tank cannot turn over.

Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian National Renewal, stresses that his party insists on its statement and that 40 days after Sretenovic's death, his military comrades will gather at his grave to tell the precise truth about his manner of death.

Rally Deplores 'Awakened Specters of the Past'

LD0403124690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Petrova Gora, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The people of Lika, Banija, Kordun, Bosanska Krajina, Pokuplje, and other parts of Yugoslavia—Serbs, Croats and Muslims—gathered today at the summit of Mount Petrova Gora by the Monument to the Revolution, to express their bitterness against destructive phenomena, the resurgence of nationalist passions, and the awakened specters of the past.

The people's meeting, in the presence of several tens of thousands of people, was opened by Dmitar Obradovic, Vrgin Most municipal assembly president, and then addressed by people's hero Dusan Pekic, member of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslav Presidium.

We did not come to Petrova Gora to destroy the government or legal power, but to warn the Yugoslav public that—together with all nations and nationalities of our country—we will defend brotherhood and unity and Yugoslavia, because there could be no life for us without Yugoslavia, stressed Pekic.

Serbian and Yugoslav flags were prominent at the meeting, but there were also others with pictures of Slobodan Milosevic.

A message for the Yugoslav public was sent from the meeting.

Democratic Party on Parties Bill, Kosovo

LD0503215490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party in Yugoslavia demands that a draft federal law and a draft law of the Republic of Serbia on political organisation be withdrawn and that "new rules of the game" be set up with the opposition taking part in the process.

The above was stated at a press conference in Belgrade today by leading figures of the Democratic Party which was founded recently in Belgrade and which, it was stated, already has some four thousand members from virtually all parts of Yugoslavia.

The basic objection of the Democratic Party concerns the conditions which have to be fulfilled before a political party can be registered, and which "the competent authority can interpret totally arbitrarily and freely".

Democratic Party reprsentatives further remarked that the competent authority which issues the permission to a new party will be made up of members of "the ruling communist party". It is therefore proposed that the "system of application" be implemented in the registration procedure.

The Democratic Party also notes that the existing draft laws do not envisage a budget financing for the new parties. This places newly formed parties into an unequal position with the present social-political organisations.

The Democratic Party representatives condemned the policy of former federal and Republic of Serbia officials on Kosovo and stressed that a break up with this policy necessitates a condemnation of late Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito and the then national policy.

Problems of the southern Yugoslav Province cannot be settled by a single political party because the problem of Kosovo is the affair of all citizens of Serbia, the Democratic Party reprsentatives said.

They also stressed that there can be no negotiations on the integrity of Yugoslavia and Serbia, but human rights, civil and political equality, legal protection and the safety of life and pluralist democratic order in Kosovo can and must be discussed, the representatives of the Democratic Party stressed.

Radical Association Presents Program

LD0503191890

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1605 GMT on 5 March broadcasts an approximately 30-minute studio election program in which representatives of the Transnational Radical Party-The Radical Association for the United States of Europe present the association's program. Nenad Stazic opens the program. He introduces the representatives of the Transnational Radical Party-The Radical Association for the United States of Europe.

Association Deputy Secretary Zeljko Rosko, Diana Redzepi, and Igor Bujin explain that the party originates in Italy and that it is represented abroad by the Radical Asociations. The party is not interested in gaining power and will go to the elections in coalition with the Greens and some other democratic organizations. The Zagreb branch advocates Yugoslavia's immediate entry into the European Community as imperative for resolving the country's internal problems. The party urges other East European countries to urgently join the European Community to avoid exploitation of their labor force by multinationals and West European countries. Ecology is one of the most important issues for the party.

Diana Redzepi explains the party's attitude to Kosovo, which it sees as a civilizational and not just national problem. The party will also work toward improving the position of women in Kosovo. It is also against banning abortion in Croatia, which it sees as a backward step. The creation of a universal culture and a specific common language is one of the party's long-term goals.

Drnovsek Visits Namibia for Independence Day

LD2103021190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—"The Presidency adopted the decision to establish diplomatic relations with Namibia and my trip to this country is, in itself, a sign of the recognition of this state," Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, stated today prior to his departure to Windhoek, where on 21 March, in his capacity as president of the Nonaligned Movement, he will take part in the declaration of Namibia's independence.

Drnovsek recalled that Yugoslavia has hitherto supported Namibia's liberation movement, and that now, after the declaration of the independence of this new African state, it is ready to strengthen political and economic relations.

Stressing that Yugoslavia has been invited to the celebrations to declare Namibia's independence in its capacity as president of the Nonaligned Movement, Janez Drnovsek recalled that in gaining independence, this African country is precisely one of the results of the advocacy of the nonaligned.

The Yugoslav presence at the celebrations in Windhoek will also be an opportunity for contacts with representatives of the nonaligned as well as with the developed countries with the aim of strengthening mutual relations, Janez Drnovsek said prior to his departure to Namibia.

Delegation Leaves for Namibia

LD2103021590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—Dr. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, left this afternoon for Namibia to attend ceremonies marking the independence of this African country.

The proclamation of Namibia's long-awaited independence is expected to be attended by a great number of statesmen and prominent personalities from all over the world.

The celebrations are due to begin at midnight on 20 March when UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar will formally inaugurate Sam Nujoma as Namibia's newly elected president. On 21 March, new official organs of authority will be installed in this, the youngest of African states.

From Windhoek, President Drnovsek and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar will travel to Senegal for an official visit. This will be the first visit by a head of the Yugoslav state to this African country. [passage indistinct]

Stopover in Sudan, Kenya

LD2103022690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0731 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Nairobi, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—On his way to Namibia, where he will attend the declaration of the independence of this African country as head of the Yugoslav state and president of the Nonaligned Movement, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, met Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi in Nairobi this morning.

In this dialogue, the two presidents expressed agreement on the satisfactory degree of bilateral relations and it was stressed that there is greater scope for economic cooperation, not only in the field of trade but also for greater investment ventures in Kenya. It should be said that our work organizations that operate (pharmaceuticals, electrical equipment and construction) have acquired an enviable reputation, and in this sense the desire was expressed for their even greater presence in Kenya.

The two presidents, in whose talks the foreign ministers of the two countries, Budimir Loncar and Wilson Ndolo Ayah, also participated, stressed the need for greater involvement by the Nonaligned Movement, especially in the economic sphere, and along North-South lines.

After this, President Drnovsek had a meeting in the SFRY Embassy in Nairobi with Yugoslavs working in Kenya.

During a technical stopover at Khartoum Airport, the president of the SFRY Presidency had a short meeting with (Tijani), a member of the Revolution Command Council for National Salvation. Both in this meeting and in a brief statement to Sudanese TV, Drnovsek expressed satisfaction with the degree of the development of relations between the two countries, both in the bilateral and in the international sphere.

Loncar, Shevardnadze Meet

LD2103214690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2039 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Windhek, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar held long talks in Windhoek today with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. According to reports, the meeting affirmed the mutual interest in continuing cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR in the new, changed international conditions.

During the talks, great attention was devoted to the changes in Europe, the reunification of the two German states, the CSCE summit, arms control, and other important international issues. The two ministers agreed that the changes in Europe have historical dimensions and a positive direction the basic characteristics of which are profound democratic transformations and the building of a new system of security, stability, and cooperation, free of military rivalries.

The foreign ministers of the two countries agreed that a new balance must be sought in the new distribution of forces. They agreed that these processes are inseparable from internal solutions in individual countries. It also was stated that in this generally positive development there are many difficulties and some uncertainties.

The two ministers also informed each other about the internal situations in Yugoslavia and the USSR.

Namibia Leader Thanks Drnovsek

LD2103223190 belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 21 Mar 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Windhoek, March 21 (TANJUG)—During a meeting today with Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek, the president of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, today expressed thanks to Yugoslavia for its support over the years.

Drnovsek who heads a Yugoslav delegation of festivities on the proclamation of Namibia's independence, congratulated Nujoma on the country becoming independent and stated Yugoslavia's readiness for a comprehensive cooperation with Namibia.

This morning Drnovsek participated in an informal meeting of the heads of delegations of India, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Palestine and Namibia. The situation in Africa's south was particularly discussed at the meeting.

In Windhoek Drnovsek also met and had talks with Nigerian President Babangida, Indian politician Rajiv Gandhi who attended the proclamation of independence in Namibia as a special guest, and Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiv Celac.

Meets With De Klerk

LD2103223690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2035 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Windhoek, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, this afternoon in Windhoek, where he is attending the ceremony of Namibian independence, met Frederik de Klerk, president of the Republic of South Africa. Drnovsek voiced support for the positive developments in southern Africa that resulted in the proclamation of Namibian independence. The Yugoslav president assessed positively the moves made by President de Klerk, such as the release of African National Council leader Nelson Mandela, and supported trends toward dialogue in the Republic of South Africa.

President de Klerk briefed President Drnovsek in detail about his vision of the route to stability and opening up democratic processes, which would bring peace and prosperity in the whole region of southern Africa.

Diplomatic Relations Opened

LD2103224190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 21 Mar 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Windhoek, March 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has established full diplomatic relations with Namibia.

A joint communique on this matter was signed in Windhoek on Wednesday, the first day of Namibia's independence, by the two foreign ministers, Budimir Loncar and Theor-Ben Gurirab.

The communique stressed the two countries' readiness to "promote mutual relations in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter and the principles and objectives of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries with a view to ensuring international peace and security and economic development, and eliminating all forms of colonialism, foreign interference and racism."

Meeting Held With Baker

LD2103224290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2046 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Windhoek, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, this afternoon met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. In a lengthy conversation, they exchanged views about relations between the two countries and noted that relations are very good and that there is mutual interest in their further advancement.

The talks also touched on the reform processes in Yugoslavia. Baker paid a special heed to the results of the economic reform and the development of a multiparty, pluralistic system in our country. He acknowledged Yugoslavia's courageous and successful efforts in the orientation to a market economy, reduction of inflation and restructuring of the entire economy.

Baker was informed about our interest in cooperating with the group of 24 industrially developed countries, as well as about Yugoslavia's demand for international financial support for recovery of the banking system within the framework of the reform.

The talks also covered wider world developments, especially in Europe, and topics relating to the development of new structures of international security and stability.

Baker confirmed his willingness to visit Yugoslavia.

This afternoon, Drnovsek and Loncar met and had talks with Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh. On that occasion, they covered the topic of further activity by the Nonaligned Movement, within which the two countries have cooperated well and actively. The Indian prime minister assessed highly the role of Yugoslavia presiding over the Nonaligned Movement.

The Yugoslav delegation had a meeting with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. On that occasion, de Cuellar underscored Yugoslavia's important role in the Committee for Namibia, as well as Yugoslavia's role presiding over the Nonaligned Movement.

Slovenian Hungarians Protest Romanian Oppression

LD2203220790 Budapest MTI in English
1630 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (MTI)—The Hungarian community in Slovenia forwarded to MTI's Belgrade correspondent on Wednesday a protest statement addressed to the Provisional National Unity Council of Romania. The document includes the following things:

"We resolutely condemn all actions which stir up hostile sentiments in the majority and are aimed against the fundamental freedoms of a minority composed of 2.5 million people. We condemn all arbitrary, genocidal actions and measures that are opposed to the goals of Europe stepping on the road of unification, no matter whether they are taken in an organized or an unorganized way, with or without the authorities' knowledge. Although there are only 10,000 Hungarians in Slovenia, we have learnt other forms of co-existence. We are convinced that the good or ill fortune of a national minority may depend on the attitude of the majority.

"We ask the Romanian nation and the Provisional National Unity Council of Romania to serve noble aims by putting an end to the oppression of Hungarians in Transylvania and guaranteeing them all the rights required for their survival and development," runs the protest statement.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735,or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.